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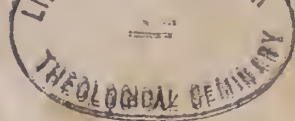


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**BIBLICAL REPERTORY.**

A

**Collection of Tracts**

IN

**BIBLICAL LITERATURE.**

BY CHARLES HODGE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE, IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.

*Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γράφας.*

**VOL. I.**

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# BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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difficulty of procuring books, or the disinclination to read any thing not written in our own language, has led to a lamentable neglect of an interesting department of Theological Learning. An attempt therefore, in any measure, to remedy this evil, must commend itself to those who believe that the interests of piety, are intimately connected with the state of knowledge in its teachers.

As this work is intended for a class of readers which is not very numerous, and as it will be one of considerable labour, and no emolument, it is hoped that those who are interested in advancing the cause to which it is devoted, will extend to it the favour of their patronage.

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## **BIBLICAL REPERTORY.**

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  - II. TRANSLATION OF TITTMANN ON HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION.
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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE preceding Prospectus states, with as much particularity as is deemed necessary, the nature and design of the present Publication. It has arisen, from the conviction of the importance of Biblical Studies, and from the desire of exciting greater interest in their cultivation. There may be some apprehension, as to the tendency of such pursuits; some fear that they are not likely to subserve the cause of truth and piety. That this apprehension is unfounded, a moment's consideration of the nature of the subjects embraced in this department, is sufficient to evince. The direct object of this branch of Theological knowledge, is, to ascertain and explain the Sacred Text, to discover what is Scripture, and what is its meaning: with this view, to attend to the *Criticism* of the Old and New Testaments, to determine the principles which should be applied to their interpretation, and to illustrate their language and import from the various sources which Philology and History afford. That there is any thing in this course inimical to religion, would never have occurred to the most sensitive mind, were it not that the most celebrated writers on these subjects have been men of loose Theological opinions. But is there any evidence that their opinions resulted from these pursuits? Is not all probability, (as founded on their nature) against the supposition? And will not the argument derived from this source prove a great deal too much? It is not in Biblical Literature alone, that these authors have been so much more assiduous and productive than others of modern times. In every department of Ecclesiastical History and Doctrinal Theology, the number and research of their works is not less remarkable. Of the *one hundred and seventy* works ascri-

bed to *Semler*, a great portion have no immediate connexion with the department in question. The argument, therefore, derived from this source, should either be withdrawn or extended.

But so far from loose opinions having resulted from these pursuits, the very reverse has been the fact. The corruption of Theological opinion preceded any unfavourable change in the method of explaining the Sacred Volume. And this corruption of opinion resulted from metaphysical and philosophical speculations; it was the influence of the infidel spirit of the English and French Deists, operating on the scholars of Germany which produced the change.\* And when the change was effected, it is not to be wondered at, that those who were imbued with the spirit of infidelity should treat the SS. in a way consistent with their new opinions, and endeavour to introduce methods of explaining the Sacred Volume, calculated to extend and perpetuate them. It is not, therefore, to the Biblical Student that this melancholy page of history furnishes its warning; it is to those who introduce the speculations of Philosophy into the study of Theology, and who avowedly or unconsciously interpret the Sacred Volume in accordance with opinions previously formed, and resting upon some other foundation than the revelation of God. And the greatest barrier to the progress of error is to be found in bringing men from other sources of Theological knowledge, immediately to the SS., to the strictly grammatical interpretation of the word of God, which is by no means inconsistent with the highest reverence for its character, the strongest conviction of its divine origin and consequent infallibility, and the deepest sense of our need of the aids of the Holy Spirit to remove our native prejudice to the truth, and to illuminate the mind with the knowledge of Di-

\* This assertion is made upon the authority of their own writers, see Staüdlin's History of Theological Knowledge, Vol. II. p. 289, et ss.

vine things. This has been the course pursued by the wisest and best men in every age of the church. It is the plan upon which our own system of doctrine is founded, and by which alone it can be defended. Danger, therefore, is not to be apprehended from the pursuit of Biblical studies, it lies in their neglect. It is not intended, however, to urge any disproportionate attention to this department. If the ministers of the present day would cultivate its various branches with the assiduous attention they have received from many of the most spiritual and devoted of the servants of Christ, it is all the department demands, or its advocates could ask. But is it not to be feared that there are few who can enter into the spirit of the declaration of LUTHER *Etsi exigua sit mea linguæ Hebraeæ notitia, cum omnibus tamen totius mundi gazis non commutarem?*

With respect to the contents of the following number, it may be proper to remark, that the selection was determined by the consideration that it would be most expedient to publish something in the first number, which would be valuable and saleable in a separate form, and which would present an outline of at least one important class of subjects likely to be discussed in the future pages of the work. It was with this view, that *Beck's Monogramata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Fæderis* was selected. This work may prove uninteresting to any other than professional readers; to such however, it cannot fail of appearing valuable. Its author, who was born in 1757, was formerly Professor of the Greek and Latin languages, and afterwards Professor of History, at Leipsic. His principal works are, *Instit. histor. religionis Christ. et formulæ nostræ dogmatum*, 1796. *Commentarii histor. decretorum relig. Christ. et formulæ Lutheranae*, Lip. 1801. *Prefatio ad Mori Prelectt. ad Romanos*, 1794, and several others, besides that which is here translated. The following article contains the first part of his work on the New

Testament, and comprises what is general, that is, what relates to all the books of the New Testament ; the second part was to give an account of the character, age, origin, and history of each particular book, and the commentators upon each.

The work has been somewhat abridged in the following article. This has been effected principally by omitting the title of some of the works mentioned by the author, by mentioning only the last and most improved editions, in cases, where he details them all, by passing over small portions of the text which appeared neither essential to the connexion, nor of much value, and especially by shortening the catalogue of MSS. There has been no MS. omitted in the catalogue, (excepting those called Evangelaria and Lectionaria,) but the account given of them is curtailed. It was thought that an alphabetical list of all the MSS. which have been collated with references to the sources of more extended information, would be as much as the great body of our readers would deem desirable. The sixth section, which is short, and of little interest, has been omitted entirely.

# OUTLINES

OF

## HERMENEUTICS.

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### SECTION I.

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ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT  
AND ITS HISTORY.

I. THE art of interpreting the Sacred Writings, supposes the faculty, improved by cultivation and exercise, of discovering and exhibiting that sense, which the Sacred writers themselves attached to the words they used. The same rules, which regulate the explanation of other documents, are of authority in reference to the Scriptures: these rules, it is the business of Criticism and Hermeneutics to exhibit. Hence, Sacred Criticism, and Sacred Hermeneutics, demand our attention. The utility of attending to these subjects is the greater, because, from various causes, the interpretation of the sacred writings, is peculiarly difficult, and errors, are here more frequently committed, than in the exposition of other works.

*Gelbricht. Comm. qua docetur, interpretationem librorum divinatorum ab interpretatione librorum humanorum nihil differre. Cizæ, 1774.*

*Jo. Asboth Comm. de interpretatione codicis sacri, ad communia om-*



nes libros interpretandi principia revocata, præmio ab ord. Theol. Gætt. ornata. Gætt. 1791.

*Guil. Nic. Freudentheil* Comm. de codice sacro more in reliquis antiquitatis libris solemnè ingenue interpretando, adjectis difficultatibus N. T. propriis. Chemn. 1791.

May there not, however, be rules of interpretation, applicable to other books, which, in the New Testament, have no authority? and may it not be properly enquired, what influence the inspiration of the New Testament should have upon this subject?

The earlier commentaries on the interpretation of the New Testament, taught that the sense was to be determined by the opinions of the ancient writers, from the judgment of the church—from a certain internal sense—from the analogy of faith—and from the formularies of Philosophy. Those of a later date, lay more stress upon the dictates of reason.

*Hermeneutics*, in an extensive sense, includes *Criticism*, and is distinguished from *Exegesis*. The science of interpreting the Sacred Writings, belongs to what is called *special Hermeneutics*. Attention, therefore, to this subject, presupposes a knowledge of the rules of *universal Hermeneutics*, which prescribe the method of investigating the signification of words and modes of expression—determining the sense of every passage—estimating and explaining the sentiment, &c. The *Hermeneutics* of the Bible has two parts, the one *general*, the other *special*.

On the causes of the difficulty of the interpretation of the SS., see

*J. S. Ernesti* d. de difficultatibus N. T. recte interpretandi 1755. Opp. Critt. et Phill.

The following writers have, more or less extensively, treated the subject of sacred Hermeneutics.

*J. S. Semler* Vorbereitung zur Theolog. Hermeneutik, Halle 1760—69

*J. Gottlieb Toellner* Grundriss einer erwiesenen Hermeneutik des N. T. Zuel. 1765.



*Joach. Ehrenfried Pfeiffer*, Institutiones hermeneuticæ sacræ, veterum atque recentiorum et propria quædam præcepta complexæ. Ecl. 1771.

*Jo. Bened. Carpzovius*, Primæ lineæ hermeneuticæ, et philologiæ sacræ cum vet. tum novi Test. brevibus aphorismis comprehensæ in usum lect. acad. Helmst. 1790.

*Geo. Fr. Seiler*, Biblische Hermeneutik, oder Grundsätze und Regeln zur Erklärung der Heil. Schr. des A. und N. T. Erl. 1800.

*G. W. Meyer* Grundriss einer Hermeneutik des A. und N. Test. und einer Anl. zur populären und pract. Schrifterklärung, Goett. 1801.

*Jo. Aug. Ernesti* Institutio interpretis N. T. ad usus lectionum. Fourth edition. 1792.

*J. Sal. Semler* Apparatus ad liberalem N. T. interpretationem. Hal. 1767.

*Sam. Fr. Nath. Morus* Hermeneutica, N. T.

II. The method of interpreting the sacred writings, has undergone a great many changes. It has been regulated more by the disposition, object, piety, and even example of interpreters, than by any adequate and stable rules; and the rules which were prescribed, were not in all cases, derived from the most proper sources. Before the advent, the Jews had begun to seek after various senses, in their sacred oracles, and those of Alexandria especially, were much attached to the *allegorical* method of interpretation. It is, therefore, not a matter of wonder, that this method was transferred to the christians, and preferred to that which was strictly grammatical. Even those writers, who did not entirely neglect the grammatical method of interpretation, were not free from the disposition to allegorize, then so prevalent. The Hermeneutical rules laid down, were not sufficiently recommended, by their liberality, correctness, order, and connection.

*Notkeri* libellus de illustribus viris, qui ex intentione S S. Scripturas exponebant. in Galland. N. Bibl. P P. xiii.

*J. Geo. Rosenmuelleri* Historia interpretationis librorum S S. in eccl. Christ. inde ab apostolorum ætate usque ad Origenem.

*Phil. Henr. Schueler*, Gesch. der populaeren Schrifterklaerung unter den Christen von dem Anfange des Christ. bis auf die gegenwaertigen Zeiten.

*G. W. Meyer*, Geschichte der Schrifterklaerung seit der Wiederherst. der Wiss. J. B. Goett. 1802.

*Buddei* Isag. hist. theol. ad Theologiam universam.

*Rich. Simon*, Histoire Critique des commentateurs du N. T. Rotterd. 1703.

On the origin of Allegorical Interpretation.—See

*Chr. Gfr. Schuetzii* Progr. Jenæ 1794.

*Jo. Chr. Pfisteri* diss. præes.

*Jo. Frid. le Bret* de originibus et principiis allegoricæ sacrarum litt. interpretationis, Tub. 1795.

*Eichhorn*, Briefe der Bibl. Exegese betreffend, Bibl. der Bibl. Lit. vol. v.

The later Jews have followed the same method. See, *Surenhusius* Βιβλος καταλλαγῆς. *Vitringæ* Obs. Sacr. III. *Frommann*, de erroribus, qui in interpretatione N. T. a Judæis manarunt, opuscc. p. 82. *Mosheim* d. de Judæorum statuto Scripturæ sensum inflectendi.

On the method, in which Christ and the Apostles quoted and employed the O. T., these writers have treated in the general, when explaining the passages in which such quotations occur.

In the first Christian Churches, as in the Synagogues, the chapters which had been previously read, were explained. *Frommann*, de hermeneuta veteris ecclesiæ Opp. Phil. p. 421. This practice was extended to the books of the N. T., and gradually gave rise to *homilies*, which were not without their influence upon the exposition of the Bible.

The Apostolical Fathers. The Christian Apologists who wrote in Greek—Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus Alex. &c. Irenæus, Hippolytus, Methodius. The Apostolical constitutions. The Alexandrian Teachers, as Clemens Alexander.

*Allegorical and Mystical* exposition.—See

*Jo. Christ. Cæster* diss. de mysticarum interpretationum studio ab Aegyptiis maxime patribus repetendo. Hal. 1760.

On the Allegories of the Fathers, consult

*J. G. Kærneri* Prr. II. de allegorica interpretandi ratione.—L. 1782.

*Origen* by no means entirely neglected grammatical interpretation. See, *J. A. Ernesti*. d. de Origene interpretationis LL. SS. grammaticæ auctore L. 1756, in Opuscc. Rosenmueller Progr. de fatis interpretationis litt. SS. in Eccl. Christ.

The Latin Fathers were even less skilled in interpretation. Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius.

During the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, the Greek Church produced several interpreters of rather better character. Many grammatical Commentaries of this period have perished. The most distinguished Greek writers were, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Theodoret, Procopius of Gaza.

The doctrinal interpreters, were, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Alexandria, &c. &c.

Among the Latins, Hilary, Ambrose, Arnobius, jun., Victor of Capua, and especially Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, who were long leaders to later writers. *J. G. Rosenmueller*, Pr. de traditione hermeneutica, L. 1786.

During this period, some rules on Interpretation were laid down—See

*Hieronimi* Epist. ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi. *Tychonii* Regulæ VII. ad investigandam intelligentiam SS. SS. *Augustin*, LL. IV. de doctrina Christ. *Adriani* εισαγωγή εις τας θείας γραφάς . . . . &c. &c.

III. From the 7th to the 16th century, very few examples of correct interpretation are to be found. The writings of that period, exhibit the judgment and success of their authors in selecting the opinions of the ancients, rather than their own skill in exposition. For the authority of the early teachers was so great, that most writers preferred selecting

scholia from their works, and forming, what are called *Catenæ Patrum*, than to write original commentaries. These formularies were of such weight, that all expositors followed them, excepting so far, as the study of philosophy and fondness for allegorical and mystical interpretation, led to the neglect of all hermeneutical rules. There was no regular system of interpretation inculcated, until after the revival of letters, when some writers arose to vindicate the claims of grammatical exposition.

The most distinguished writers among the Greeks during this period, were, Oecumenius, Theophilact Achridensis, Euthymius Zigabenus, who flourished from the 10th to the 12th centuries. Besides these, were, Maximus the Confessor, of the 7th. John Damascenus, of the 8th. Photius Cpoli, Simeon Metaphrastes, of the 9th, and Theophanes Cerameus.

The most memorable among the Latins, were the Venerable Bede, of the 7th century, Alcuin of the 8th, Paschasius Ratbertus, and Rhabanus Maurus of the 9th.

In the Latin Church appeared the *Glossa Ordinaria et interlinearis*.

In the Greek Church, *Catenæ*, *Scholia*, and *Glossaries*. See on these, the following authors.

*Tho. Ittig*, de Bibliothecis et catenis Patrum.

*J. C. Wolf*, diss. de catenis patrum græcorum iisque potissimum MSS. 1712.

*J. F. S. Augustin*, d. præ. *J. A. Nosselt*, observatione de catenis P P. græcorum in N. T. 1762. *Wolf*, *Anecdota Græca*.

*Jo. Alberti* first edited from MSS. a Greek Glossary, and illustrated it with notes.

*J. Chr. Gottlieb Ernesti* selected, corrected and amended the Glosses of Hesychius.

The Latin Church produced several similar works.

*Lanfranci Scholia* in Epp. Pauli.

*Thomæ Aquinatis* Catena aurea in IV. Evangg. The authority of the ancient interpreters was confirmed by the Council in *Trullo* DCXCI.

Many endeavoured to unite the allegorical and literal interpretation. *Bruno Astensis*. *John Gerson* Propositiones de sensu literali, S. Scr. et de causis errorum.

The works of Nic. Lyranus, Paulus Burgensis, Jo. Wicklife, Nic. De Gorsam, Laur. Valla, and Desid. Erasmus, were of a much higher character.

On the earlier vernacular Versions—See

*Schueler* l. p. 150. *G. W. Panzer*, Litt. Nachricht von den allerächtesten gedruckten deutschen Biblen, aus dem 15ten Jahrh.

IV. When the reformation commenced, its beneficial influence was soon experienced by the interpretation of the Bible. The Reformers, did not, indeed, entirely reject the authority of the Fathers, yet they greatly distinguished themselves in the study and illustration of the Scriptures, and opened the way of grammatical interpretation, which *Matthias Flacius* was the first to prosecute. When theological controversies had, unfortunately, drawn off the attention of those of our communion from exegetical pursuits, interpreters arose among the Socinians and Arminians, whose subtle and free method of exposition, excited ill will towards themselves, and towards some who did not entirely agree with them. The most distinguished of this class, was *Hugo Grotius*. During this same period, the *Jansenists* were advocating the practical, the *Cocceians* the allegorical and typical mode of interpretation.—Consult,

*Jo. Herm. Jani* Liber histor. de Luthero studii Bibliici instauratore. Hal. 1732.

*Jo. Melch. Kraft*, Vorlaeuf. Abb. der Historie der deutschen Bibelübersetzung. Hamb. 1714.



*G. C. Giese* histor. Nachricht von der Bibcluebersetzung Luthers.

Of *Melancthon* and others of the same class. It was principally by *Homilies*, and by that species of commentaries which was called *Postillæ*, that Luther and his friends promoted the cause of religious instruction. To these succeeded the Bibles attended with notes. But from the commencement of the Reformation, the exegetical works of those of our communion, had received more or less of a polemical character, and this evil increased, until they became almost entirely controversial or doctrinal.

The most distinguished exegetical writers of the Geneva School, were, Zuinglius, Leon Juda, Occolampadius, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Hyperius, and Seb. Castalio.

A very important work of this period, was the following.

*Matth. Flacii Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ.* It consists of two parts. The first is in the form of a Dictionary, in which all the words and forms of expression occurring in the Bible, are explained. The second, contains many rules of interpretation, and a Series of Tracts, on the style of Scripture—difficulties—mode of surmounting them, &c. There have been several editions of this work, the first in 1576, the last in 1719. Most of our writers on Hermeneutics, are followers of Flacius. Among these, the most important are,

*Jo. Gerhardi* Tract. de legitima S S. interpretatione 1610—1663.

*Jo. Weberi* Scrutinium Ser. S. hoc est de rite itelligenda et dextre interpretanda Ser. liber unus. Gissæ 1614.

*Wolfg. Franzii* Tractatus theol. novus et perspicuus de interpretatione Sacr. Scripturarum maxime legitima, duabus constans regulis essentialibus et perspicuis, quæ Luthero familiares fuere. Various editions from 1619 to 1708.

*Casp. Finckii* Regularum, observationum proprietatum et consuetudinum Sacræ Scripturæ Centuria. Gissæ 1612.

*Jo. Com. Danhaueri* Hermeneutica Sacra.

*Jo. Heinhardi* Hermeneutica Sacra, Sacram Scripturam pie et feliciter interpretari docens. Silus. 1693.

The most distinguished, however, were

*Sixtini Amanzæ* Prof. quondam Franeq. Antibarbarus biblicus, ed. postrema cui accesserunt variae diss. et oratt. nec non responsio ad censuras D. Mart. Marsenni 1656, and the

*Sal. Glassii* Phil. logiæ sacræ, qua totius sacrosanctæ Vet. et Novi Test. Scripturæ tum stylus et literatura, tum sensus et genuinæ interpretationis ratio expenditur Libri V. *Glassii* Philol. sacra his temporibus accommodata a *D. Jo. Aug. Dathe* Lips. 1776. Tomum II. cujus sectio prior Criticam Sacram V. T. continet, secunda Hermeneuticam sacram V. T. edidit, prorsus immutatum, dedit *Geo. Laur. Bauerus*.

There were many Interpreters, of whom, some attended principally to grammatical exposition as *Erasm. Schmidius*, *Dav. Heineius*, *Pricæus*, *Lud. de Dieu*, others to doctrinal interpretation, as *Aug. Hunnius*, *Abr. Calovius*, &c.; and others, who treated of difficult passages, as *Tarnovius*, *Hackspernius*, &c.

The Roman Catholics, though restrained by the Council of Trent, had many Commentators and Teachers of the art and history of Interpretation; of whom the most celebrated were, *Sixtus Senensis*, (ars interpretandi Scripturas Sacras absolutissima.) *Rich. Simon*, (Histoire crit. des principaux commentateurs du N. Test., Rotterd. 1693.) And *Lud. Elias du Pin*, (Diss. preliminaire ou Prolegomenes sur la Bible.)

On the principles of Interpretation of *F. Socinus*.

V. Ei. L. de auctoritate sacræ Scripturæ 1570. et Lectiones Sacræ. *F. W. Dresde* Pr. de fallaci Fausti Socini libros sacros interpretatione, Vit. 1790.

The most distinguished Commentators of this class, were: *Faust. Socinus*, *Jo. Crellius*, *Sam. Przypcovius*, *Christoph. Ostorodius*, *Val. Smalcus*, *Dan. Brenius*, *Sam. Crellius*.

Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum, quos unitarios vocant, instructa operibus omnibus *F. Socini*, *Jo. Crellii*, *Jonæ Schlichtingii*. *Jo. Lud. Wolzogenii*, etc. 1656. VI. f.

Commentators of the Arminian School. On the merits of Grotius, consult

*Herder* Briefe das studium der Theol. betreffend, Tom II. p. 357. *Car. Segaar* or. de Hugone Grotio, illustri humanorum et divinorum N. T. Scriptorum interprete, Ultrai. 1785. *Hug. Grotii* Annot. in N. T. Amst. 1641.

The commencement of *Philosophical* Interpretation.

(Lud. Meyer) *Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres exercitatio paradoxa in qua veram philosophiam infallibilem S. Litt. interpretandi normam esse apodictice demonstratur etc.* 1666, with additions by Semler, in 1776. (Lud. Wolzogen de *Scripturarum interprete adversus exercitorem paradoxum.*)

Of the *Jansenists*. *Pash. Quesnelli* Nov. Test. et Annotatt. 1693. cf. *Rosenmueller* Hand. IV. and on the versions of this school, p. 370. On the *Cocceians*, idem T. IV. *Mosheim* Institutt. hist. Eccles.

V. At the close of the 17th century, many excellent Theologians, perceiving how greatly every thing pertaining to Christian doctrine, had been reformed, and wishing still farther to promote the progress of piety, (whence the name Pietists) endeavoured to introduce a better method of interpreting the Scriptures. These attempts, although they are to be censured, as following too much double senses and feigned emphasis; as neglecting grammatical rules and eastern usage—as departing too much from elegance and accurate doctrine—and as opening the way for mystical errors; yet they are to be valued, as bearing testimony to the importance of exegetical studies, and to the dignity of Biblical pursuits, and as facilitating the introduction of a method more worthy of approbation. A more liberal method has been introduced; attended, however, by new and various disputes, since the recent age did not attain



to a method so certain as to prevent the occurrence of error.

Before the age of the Pietists, both the *allegorizing* interpretations of the Cocceians, and the *grammatical* expositions of Grotius, had excited the displeasure of those, who were devoted to the dogmatico-polemical method of interpretation.

Concerning the Pietists, consult the author last quoted, in *Comm. Decr. Relig. Christ.* Of the writings of this class, those of most consequence, are the following :

*Aug. Herm. Franckii* Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, ad viam dextre indagandi et apponendi sensum S. S. Theologiæ studiosis ostendendam in Acad. Halensi publice habitæ. Hal. 1717—23.

*Jach. Langii* Hermeneutica Sacra exhibens genuinæ interpretationis leges de sensu literali et emphatico investigando, deinde idiomatica sermonis—Apostolici et Apocalyptici cum ulteriore ipsius praxeos exegetica appendice. Hal. 1733.

On the whole method of these Writers, consult *Plank* Einleitung, II.

Nearly connected with the Pietists, was *Rambach*.

*Jo. Jac. Rambach* d. de idoneo S. S. Interprete Jen. 1720. Ejusdem Institutiones Hermeneuticæ S. variis observationibus copiosissimisque exemplis Bibl. illustratæ cum. præf. J. Fr. Buddei.

*Rambachii* Exercitationes hermeneuticæ, s. Pars altera Institut. hermeneuticarum sacrarum, 1728.

During this period, the *Wolfian* system of philosophy, was transferred to all parts of theology. It was used in Hermeneutics by *Wollius*, who translated *Blackwall's* Defence of the Sacred Classics into Latin, and accompanied them with remarks of his own.

Hermeneuticam N. Foed. acroamatico-dogmaticam, certissimis defæcatæ philosophiæ principiis corroboratam, eximiisque omnium Theol. Christ. partium usibus inservientem. L. 1736.

The following work of *Turretin*, was of a much higher character.

*Jo. Alph. Turretini* de S. Scr. interpretandæ methodo, Tractatus bipartitus, in quo falsæ multorum interpretum hypotheses refelluntur veraque interpretandæ S. Scr. methodus adstruitur, 1728 ; with additions by *Teller* in 1776.

Worthy of notice also are,

*Sal. Deylingii* diss. de Scripturæ recte interpretandæ ratione et fatis 1721.

*Siegm. Jac. Baumgarten* Compendium Hermeneutices Sacræ, Hal. 1742.

*Dan. Wytttenbachii* Elementa Hermeneutiæ Sacræ eo, quo in scientiis fieri debet, modo proposita, Marb. 1760.

Among the critics on the N. T. of this period, were, *Le Clerc, Mill, Whitby, Bentley, Bengel, Wetstein,* and *Valkenar.*

*J. S. Semler* added to the Prolegomena of *Wetstein* notes, and an appendix on the Ancient Latin recensions extant in various MSS. Hal. 1764.

*Wetstenii* Libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem N. Test. adjecta est recensio introduct. *Bengelii* ad crisin N. Test. ed *J. S. Semler*, Hal. 1776.

*L. C. Valkenar* Or. de critica emendatrice in libris N. T. a literatoribus quos vocant non adhibenda, Hermsterh. et Valek. Oratt. 1784.

There were many Authors of Observations and Commentaries, who had different objects, and pursued different methods. The result has been, that many passages have been more accurately examined. The works of these writers will be mentioned below.

The language of the Sacred Writers, now began to be illustrated, from profane authors. *Lamb. Bos, Raphelius, Elsner,* and *Albertius*, taking the lead in this department.

The controversy concerning the Hebraisms of the N. T. and the elegance and purity of its style, was now greatly agitated.

The remarks of various commentators were collected, as in the following works.

Critici Sacri s. clarissimorum virorum in SS. utriusque Fæderis Biblia doctissimæ adnotationes atque tractatus theol. philologici, Lond. 1660. IX vols. f.  
*Matth. Poli* Synopsis criticorum aliorumque. Lond. 1669. Die. h.

Schr. des A. und N. Test. nebst einer vollstaendigen Erklarung derselben, welche aus den auserlesensten Anmerkungen verschiedener Engl. Schriftst. zusammengetragen und mit vielen Zusaetzen begleitet werden. L. 1749—70. XIX. 4.

*J. Cph. Wolfi* curæ philologicæ et criticæ in N. T.

Grammatical interpretation was rendered more exact and certain by the labours of *J. A. Ernesti*, *S. F. N. Morus*, and *J. F. Fischer*.

*J. A. Ernesti* pro grammatica interpretatione LL. imprimis sacrorum L. 1749, and in his *Opuscula*.

*Jo. Ben. Carpzovii* Comm. de interprete SS. grammatico 1750.

*W. A. Teller* des Herrn D. J. A. Ernesti—verdienste um die Theologie und Religion, Berl. 1783, with additions by Semler, Hal. 1783.

*C. D. Beck* Recitatio de Moro summo Theologo, 1792.

*J. G. C. Hoepfner* ueber das Leben und die Verdienste des verewigten Morus L. 1793.

*C. Th. Kuinoel* Narratio de Jo. Frid. Fischero, L. 1799.

*Historical* interpretation was greatly recommended by Semler.

*Cph. Aug. Heumanni* Diss, de exegesi historica S. S. Goett. 1742.

*C. A. Theoph. Keil* Pr. de historica L L. S S. interpretatione ejusque necessitate L. 1788.

*J. A. Noesselt* Narratio de Semlero ejusque ingenio inprimis in interpretationem S. Ser. 1792.

*Eichhorn* Allgem. Bibl. d. Bibl. Litt. V.

The criticism of N. T. was much enlarged, and reduced to greater certainty. Many MSS. codices were accurately described. The most distinguished of the critics on the N. T. were *C. A. Bode*, *Semler*, *Griesbach*, *C. F. Matthæi*, *Andr. Birch*, *F. C. Alter*.

*Koppe* and his associates wrote a perpetual commentary on the N. T.

Scholia were written by various authors *Kuettner*, *J. G. Rosenmueller*, *Schellenberg*.

The most celebrated modern commentators are *J. D. Michaelis*, *C. A. Heumann*, *C. F. Schmid*, *J. A. Bengel*, *J. H. Cramer*, *J. B. Carpzovius*, *J. S. Semler*, *G. A.*

Teller, J. C. Doederlein, G. F. Seiler, J. A. Noesselt, G. C. Knapp, Gf. Chr. Storr, J. F. Flatt, H. E. G. Paulus, Jo. Gf. Eichhorn, J. F. Schleusner, J. D. Pott, J. H. Heinrichs, Sam. Clark, J. Peirce, G. Benson, A. A. Sykes, Horseley, Blaney, Newcome, Lowth, McKnight, Whitby. The different kinds of commentaries and annotations were now more accurately distinguished. The interpretation of the N. T. was recalled to the principles which regulate the exposition of other ancient writings, and the limits of the critic, the interpreter, and the theologian more definitely stated.

*Phil. Lud. Mizel* discrimen grammaticæ et theol. SS. interpretationis in explicando loco Ep. ad Phil. 1793, et in Pott Sylloge.

*Philosophical* Interpretation was commended, though not always understood in the same way.

*J. A. Ernesti* Progr. de vanitate philosophantium in interpretatione L. L. S S. Lips 1750, and in his Opuseula.

*Logical* interpretation.

*Jo. Fred. Roos* Diss. præs.

*C. F. Schnurrer* Rudimenta Logiæ Sacræ.

*Popular Exegesis.*

*Ph. H. Schueler*—was ist populaere Schriffterklaerung?—Tub. 1788.

*Practical* or *moral* exposition now began to be advocated, as the only proper method, by *Kant* and those addicted to his critical philosophy. This method, which was very peculiar, gave rise to the greatest confusion and uncertainty.

*Im. Kant* Religion innerhalb der Graenzen der vern. p. 134.

*G. S. Frankii* disp. de ratione qua est critica philosophia ad interpretationem librorum inprimis sacrorum.

*C. H. L. Poeltz* Beytrag zur Kritik der Religions phil. und exegete unsers Zeit-alters, L. 1795.

Ueber die Aehnlichkeit des innern Wortes einiger neuen mystiker mit dem moral. Worte der Kantischen Schriftauslegung von *D. C. F. Anthon*.

*J. E. C. Schmidt* ueber den Einfluss der Kantischen unterscheidung der Geschaefte des historischen und moralischen Auslegers auf die Schriffterklärung in *S. Bibl. fur Kritik und Exegese des N. T.*

*J. G. Rosenmueller* Commentt. duæ (VI. VII.) de fatis interpretationis *S S. Litt.* 1793.

*Eichhorn* ueber die Kantische Hermeneutik, *Bibl.* VI.

*J. A. Noesselt* animadverss. in sensum *L L. SS. moralem*, Hal. 1795.

*Jo. Ev. Hofer* Progr. de Kantiana *Scr. S.* interpretatione *Salisb.* 1800.

*Storr* Bemerk. ueber Kants philos. *Relig. Lehre*, &c. &c.

VI. In such diversity, as to the method and principles of interpreting the *SS.* it is not to be wondered at, that there should be serious differences of opinion, as to particular passages, or that many should be more piously than accurately—more ingeniously than satisfactorily explained. That the interpretation of the Sacred Writings may be rendered more stable and certain, correct and well grounded rules should be sought out.

*E. A. G. Harschelmann* Diss. de principiis *Scr. S.* interpretandi falsis et veris, *Jen.* 1767.

*Chr. Fr. Roederi* Comm. de ingenii usu et abusu circa interpretationem *S S. Terg.* 1741.

*Jer. Friderici* Diss. de hypothesis erroneis *Scr. Sacræ* interpretandæ noxiis *L.* 1729.

*J. C. Stemler* Diss. I. II. de interpretationibus *S S.* satis piis sed minus accuratis, *L.* 1741.

*J. A. H. Tittman* Pr. de causis præcipuis contortarum interpretatt. *N. T. L.* 1800.

*F. Guil. Schleusner* d. de dissensibus interpretum in explicandis locis *S S. intell. difficilioribus*, *L.* 1756.

Add. *Mori Herm.* I: p. 204.

## SECTION II.

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### ON THE CHARACTER OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. AS the proper method of Interpretation depends, in a great measure, upon the character and design of the Authors, whose productions we mean to explain, and, upon the nature of the productions themselves, it is evident, that, these are points which, in the present case, demand our attention. With respect to the nature of the Books composing the N. T. ; they are of three kinds, historical, doctrinal, and in one instance, prophetic. These works not only materially differ, as to their whole style and manner, from the historical, doctrinal, and poetical writings of the Greeks, but in many respects, there is a diversity, worthy of remark, between even those which belong to the same general class.

Κανὴ διαθήκη, is an ecclesiastical name, derived from 2 Cor. iii. 14. *J. G. Rosenmueller*, d. de voce Διαθήκη in N. T. vario usu, in Velthus. *Kuin. et Rup. Comm. Theol. II.*

The ancient description of this Volume was not uniform, its appellation was derived from its contents, and from its composition ; εὐαγγέλιον, ἀποστόλος ; histories and epistles, and these last those of Paul, or Catholic. The writings also of the Apostles and their companions may be distinguished. In the historical books, a continued, chronological, and skillfully executed narrative is not to be expected ; things worthy of remark are stated, interspersed with doctrinal and moral precepts. In the other books,



the systematic mode of instruction is not pursued, and the epistles contain many things, relating to the peculiar circumstances of those to whom they were addressed. Yet they are all to be regarded as the documents of the Christian religion. The diversity of the several writers, may be illustrated by the examples of John and the other Evangelists—the Epistles of Peter and Paul.

Those works ought to be consulted, which contain introductions to the Sacred Writings.

a. Those which embrace both the Old and New Testaments.

*Bibliotheca Sancta a, F. Sixto Senensi, ex præcipuis Cathol. eccl. auctoribus collecta et in 8. Libros digesta. Ven. 1566.—a Hayo, in 1591.*

*Mich. Waltheri Officina Biblica noviter adaptata, in qua videre licet, que seitu maxime necessaria de SS. in genere et in specie etc. L. 1636—1703.*

*J. H. Heideggeri, Enchiridion Biblicum Tiguri, 1681. Jen. 1725. (Sal. Van Tel, opus analyticum comprehendens Introductionem in SS. ad Heideggeri Enchiridion.)*

*L. Ellès du Pin, Dissertation preliminaire ou Prolegomenes sur la Bible, pour servir de Supplement a la Bibliotheque des Auteurs eccles. Par. 1701.*

*Aug. Calmet Prolegomenes de L'Écriture Sainte, Paris, 1720.*

*Collier's Sacred Interpreter.*

*Jo. Cph. Anschuetz, Einleitung in die Buecher der h. Schr. nach Eichhorn u. Michaelis zum Handgebrauch, Dresd. 1791.*

b. Writers of Introductions to the N. T.

*Rich. Simon, Hist. critique du Nouveau Test. Rotterd. 1689. Histoire critique des versions du N. Test. 1690.*

*Jo. Ge. Pritii Introductio ad lectionem, N. T. 1704. Greatly improved by Hofmann, L. 1737.*

*J. Wesseli Rumpfi commentatio critica ad libros N. T. in genere, cum præf. J. G. Carpzovii, in qua de variis lect. N. T. disserit L. 1730.*

*Hurwood's Introduction to the N. T.*

*J. D. Michaelis' Introduction to the N. T. translated by Herbert Marsh, with notes and additions.*

*Jo. G. C. Klotzsch Handbuch der kritischen Geschichte des N. Test. zum Gebrauch der akad. Vorlesungen, Witt. 1795.*

*H. C. A. Haenlein Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des N. Test.*

*J. L. Hug Einleitung in die Buecher des N. T.*

*H. F. Gottl. Pauli Introductionis in N. T. Capita Selectiora Jen. 1799.*

II. The Divine Authors of these books, were either the constant and familiar companions of our Saviour, and by him diligently instructed, or they were the friends and assistants of the Apostles. They had been previously Jews of obscure circumstances—fair characters, and well instructed in their own religion. They were, however, ignorant as to the learning of the Greeks, and at a great remove from their subtlety of disquisition and refinement of language. The interpreter, therefore, is not to expect any refined method of discourse, nor great attention to style in the Sacred Writings: nor is he to suppose that the inspired penmen, in becoming authors, could entirely lay aside their previous character and habits.

The question, concerning the inspiration of the N. T., need not occasion any difficulty in this part of our course, as it is generally admitted, that the Holy Spirit, accommodated himself to the genius of the several Sacred Writers.

These teachers and writers were not of high rank, but, for the most part, mechanics. The learning attributed, by many to them, was Hebrew and not Grecian—in profane philosophy, they were entirely unskilled, though by no means ignorant of the literature of their country.—See

*Jo. Franc. Buddei* Ecclesia Apostolica, 1729.

*Sandini* Historia Apostolica, 1731.

*Jo. Lami* de eruditione Apostolorum liber singularis, Flor. 1766.

*Thulemanni* d. de eruditione Pauli Apostoli Judaica, non græca, L. 1769.

In instructing his disciples, our Saviour took that method which was best suited to their characters and circumstances, gradually leading them to reject their former errors, and embrace his doctrines, proposed to them in Jewish figures.



III. The Sacred Writers were obliged to accommodate themselves, in some measure, to the character of their readers, and to the object which they wished to accomplish. Most of the early christians were converts from Judaism; the mode of instruction adapted to them, must not only have been familiar, but the illustrations must have been drawn from sources with which they were acquainted, and the arguments of the kind to which they were accustomed. Something, therefore, was to be conceded to their character and opinions—to their forms of expression and modes of arguing, as far as was consistent with the perfect security of christian doctrine. The principal design of the Sacred Writers, was, that their readers might be correctly informed, as to the character of the Author of the Gospel—that they might understand and embrace his doctrine, and be preserved from the errors to which they were particularly exposed.

A very small portion of the Sacred Writings was addressed, exclusively, to the heathen; the greater part was directed to those, who had been Jews or Proselytes, or who, in a great measure, followed Jewish customs. There were some teachers who endeavoured to introduce Jewish rites and errors among the early converts, even among those who were of Gentile origin.

On the doctrine of accommodation, there is great diversity of opinion; whether it be considered in reference to the exposition and illustration of certain doctrines, to the mode of argument or narration, or to the manner in which the O. T. is quoted and employed in the New. Some of the Greek Fathers appear to have favoured the idea that the Sacred Writers did accommodate themselves

even in matters of doctrine, to popular opinions and modes of expression.

*F. A. Cari* Diss. Historia antiquior sententiarum ecclesie græcæ de accommodatione Christo inprimis et Apostolis tributa, L. 1793.

The Socinians and Grotius are the advocates of such accommodation, most of those of our communion are opposed to the doctrine.

*J. J. Rambach* d. contra hypothesin de SS. ad erroneos vulgi conceptus accommodata, 1729, et in *Exercit. Hermeneut. N. 5.*

*C. E. a Windheim* d. de erroribus vulgi in libris sacris non probatis. Goett. 1748.

*J. F. Russ* d. de œconomia qua Christus in docendo usus fuisse dicitur. Tub. 1773.

Ist die Lehre von Accommodationen im N. T. Neologie? *Henke* Neus. Mag. II. 638.

This doctrine, though it has of late been more accurately defined, has led to much disputation and evil feeling.—See

*Haufii, Behni, Heningæ, Van Hemert, Winkleri* libb. de institutionis Jesu et App. ratione et accommodatione. add. *Eichhorn*, Bibl. III, 920, IV, 306.

*Wolff. Fr. Gess*, Briefe ueber einige theol. Zeitmaterien, besonders ueber den accommodationsgrundsatz in Hinsicht auf einige positive Lehren der Chr. Rel. Stuttg. 1791.

*E. W. Opitz* d. præ. *Mich. Webers* de accommodationis Christi et App. didacticæ natura, Vit. 1789.

*G. C. Storr* observationes quædam spectantes ad enodandam quæstionem: utrum se Judæorum hermeneuticis erroribus accommodauerint missi divinitus interpretes? in *Berg* Symbb. litt. Duisburgg. II, 2. p. 413.

Concerning the character and situation of those to whom the Sacred Writings were originally addressed, consult

*Staudlin* Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu, I. p. 710.

*Seiler* Hermen. p. 273.

From the views, disposition, and customs of those, to whom the Scriptures were addressed, may be discovered the peculiar characteristics of some of the Sacred Writers.

*J. J. Griesbach* Commentt. duæ de imaginibus, quibus auctor ep. ad Ebræos in describenda Messiaë provincia usus est. Jen. 1791—92.

The question has been started, whether our Sacred Writers, drew any thing from the Essenes.

*Bengel* Bemerkungen ueber den Versuch das Christenthum aus dem Essaismus abzuleiten in *D. Flatt* Magazin fur chr. Dogm. und Moral VII, p. 126.

IV. Although the Aramean language was in common use in Palestine, and was employed by our Saviour, and perhaps by some of the Sacred Writers, yet the Greek was by no means unknown. As spoken in Palestine, however, it had departed greatly, from the pure and ancient Attic, and in its general structure, and in the use of words and phrases, had assumed an Aramean or Hebraic character. The genius of this Hebraic Greek, can be most advantageously learned, from the Greek versions of the O. T., from the apocryphal books, and from other writings of the Jews in Greek. There are some expressions peculiar to the Christian Writings, in which certain words are used in an unusual sense.

*J. H. J. Heeren* Comm. de linguarum Asiat. in imp. Persico varietate et cognitione, Commentt. Soc. Goett. XIII. *Eichhorn* Bibl. VI, 772.

The Aramean Language, which belongs to the Shemitish class, has two dialects, the Jerusalem (eastern,) and the Galilean (western.)

*Giambern. de Rossi* Dissertazioni della lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da' tempi de Maccabei, etc. Parma, 1772. See also *Eichhorn's* Bibliothek, VIII.

Although the Jews of Palestine were not friendly to Grecian Literature, (*J. A. Ernesti*, d. de odio Judæorum adversus litteras græcas, opusc. phil. p. 408 :) yet the use

of the Greek was not unknown in Judea and Galilee, and to the foreign Jews, it was perfectly familiar.

As some have entertained the opinion, that Christ spoke in the Greek Language, and others (*Harduin*) have contended that the books of the N. T. were written in Latin; so of late it has been thought by some, that many parts of the N. T. are translations from the Aramean or Syriac, and "that they could detect errors of the Greek Translators.

*J. J. Griesbach* Ueber die in dem griech. Text des N. T. entdeckten Uebersetzungsfehler, *Augusti* Neue Theol. Blaetter. I. B.

*Lud. de Dieu* in his Preface to his Grammar of Eastern Languages, had expressed the opinion, that the true sense of many of the forms of expression in the N. T., was to be sought from the Syriac.

On the Greek Language, after the time of Alexander the Great, and on the Dialect, which is called the Maccodnico-Alexandrian.—See

*Fr. Gu. Sturz* Commentationes IV. de dialecto Alexandrina, L. 1786. Geneva, 1788—93—94.

*J. F. Fischeri* Proluss. de Vitii Lex. N. T.

*Dan. Heinsii* Exercitationes sacræ ad N. T. quibus Aristarchus sacer accessit, L. B. 1639.

*Ejusd.* Exerc. de lingua Hellenist. et Hellenistis, L. B. 1643.

*Ejusd.* Apologia adversus Croium 1640.

*Heinsius* was opposed by *Croius*, *Salmasius*, and others.

*Salmasii* Liber de hellenistica s. Commentarius controversiam de lingua hellenist. decidens L. B. 1643.

*Ejusd.* Funus linguæ hellenist. s. confutatio exere. *Heinsii*.

*Jo. Croii* sacræ et historicæ in N. T. observationes, Genevæ, 1645.

*Matthæi Cotterii* de Hellenistis et lingua hellen. Exercitationes secundariæ, 1646.

The controversy, which formerly excited so much attention, on the style of the N. T., whether it was pure Greek, or Hebraic, or mixed, has sunk to rest, yet it is important, as a matter of history, to know what has been written on the subject.

There have been two collections of the works upon this point.

Dissertationum Philologico-theol. de stilo N. T. syntagma a *Jac. Rhenferdio* collectum addita ipsius diss. de seculo futuro. Leov. 1701.

Syntagma diss. de stilo N. T. græco quas collegit *Tuco Hajo van den Honert*, Amst. 1703.

a. The principal defenders of the purity of the N. T. style after *Hen. Stephans* and others, are

*Sebasti. Pfi. henii* diatr. de linguæ gr. N. T. puritate Amst. 1633.

*Balth. Stolbergii* Liber de solæcismis et barbarismis græcæ N. T. dictioni falso tributis, Vi. 1681—85.

*Blackwall's Sacred Classics*, Lond. 1731.

*Chr. S. Georgii* Vindiciarum N. T. ab Ebraismis Libri III. L. 1732.

b. The writers who took a middle course.

*Tho. Gatakeri* Diss. de novi instrumenti stylo, contra *Pfochenii* diatrâ ben, Lond. 1648, and in his *Opp. Criticis*.

*Jo. Olearii* Liber de stilo N. T., 1721.

*Jo. Henr. Michaelis* d. de textu N. T. græco Hal. 1707 (cf. ejusdem diss. de usu LXX. interpretum in N. T. Hal. 1715.)

c. Those who contend that the whole style of the N. T. is Hebraic.

*Jo. Vorstii* Commentarius de Hebraismis N. T. curavit *J. F. Fischerus*, L. 1778.

*Jo. Leusdenii* de dialectis N. T. singulatim de ejus Hebraismis libellus singularis, iterum editus a *J. F. Fischer*. Accedunt *Vorstii* Commentarii de Adagiis N. T. Hebraicis, L. 1792.

*Sam. Werenfelsii* diss. de stilo Scriptorum N. T. Basil, 1698.

*Morus* in his *Hermeneutics*, reviews the arguments on both sides of this question. Add *Seiler Hermen.* p. 309.

In the N. T. therefore, are to be found; what the Greeks would call Barbarisms; and in particular, Hebraisms, Syriisms, Rabbinisms, and modes of expression nearly allied to those which are characteristic of the Arabic and Persian languages, also Solecisms and Latinisms.

*J. E. Kappii* d. de N. T. græci Latinismis merito et falso suspectis L. 1726.

*Chr. Sig. Georgii* d. de Latinismis græcæ N. T. dictioni immerito adfectis, Vit. 1731.

*Sig. Fr. Dresig* Vindiciæ d. de N. T. græci Latinismis merito et falso suspectis, L. 1732.



Those words and phrases which are peculiar to the N. T. language, as to the sense in which they are used, are not altogether new, but were derived from the Sacred Prophets, from the usage of the Jews in general, or of those of their number, who had particularly philosophized on the subject of religion.

On the language of the N. T., consult *Michaelis* Introduction I. p. 101—223. *Haenlein* I. p. 376. *Morus* Herm. I. p. 195.

V. The several books of the N. T. were originally edited by their authors separately, as occasion offered, and sent to one or more Christian congregations. From these they were gradually disseminated; and as many spurious writings, claiming Divine authority, were circulated, all were diligently examined, the spurious rejected, the genuine approved and collected into one volume, which was probably not completed before the fourth century. It cannot now be fully determined, when or by whom this was done, nor what were the grounds of decision in every case; nor why, those, which were for sometime questioned, were received into the canon; yet the *authenticity* and *integrity* of the whole volume and of its several parts, can be satisfactorily determined: and hence also the *confidence* and *authority* due to these records.

The origin of the several books and of the Gospels, will be considered in its proper place. There seems at first to have been smaller collections made, which did not always contain all the books of the same class, nor of the same author: perhaps these collections were sometimes more, and sometimes less extensive, until at last, all the Sacred Writings were gathered into one Volume.

On the *Canon of the N. T.* The Canon of *Eusebius*.  
 'The books were divided into ὁμολεγόμενα, αντιλεγόμενα, and  
 νόθα.

*J. E. G. Schmidt* ueber den Canon des *Eusebius*, Henke Magazin T.  
 V. P. III.

*C. C. Flatt* ueber den Canon des *Eusebius*, in *Flatt* Magazin f. die  
 Dogm. T. VIII.

This subject was still more fully discussed by *Oeder*  
 and *Semler*. Walch *Neueste Religionsgeschichte*, T. VII.

*Beleuchtung* des Jued. und chr. Bibelkanons, vol. I. Hal. 1792.

*Chr. Fr. Weber* Beytraege zur Gesch. des newest. Kanons. Tueb. 1791.

On the ancient canons.—See

*Schroeckh*. Kgesch. IX. *Wagner* Einl. in die heil. Buecher, and *Muen-*  
*scher* Handbuch der christl. Dogmengesch. I.

Causes of diversity in the canons of different churches.  
 The reasons, upon which the decisions respecting the ca-  
 nonical authority of the several books rested, were not  
 always the same, nor always equally important. *Augus-*  
*tin*. de doct. chr. II, 8. *Junil*. de part. leg. div. The  
 authority of the church, after the seventh century inter-  
 posed on this subject. The same *canonical authority*  
 was always attributed to all the sacred books.

*Authenticity* refers, both to the age of the Sacred  
 Writings, and to the authors to whom they were attribu-  
 ted. The arguments upon which this point is decided, are,  
 1st. Internal, derived from the sentiments, the style, and  
 the nature of the subject. 2d. External, the testimony of  
 christian writers, of heretics, of profane authors, and the  
 comparison of the apocryphal with the genuine books.  
 3d. Mixed, the agreement of the general subject, and of  
 the several parts, with the history of the times and of the  
 authors. 4th. The weakness of opposing arguments.

*Michaelis* I. p. 4. *Hænzlein* I. p. 39.

*Lardner's* credibility of the Gospel History, and his Jewish and Heathen  
 testimonies to the truth of the christian religion.

Ausführliche Untersuchungen der Gruende fuer die Aeclitheit und Glaubwuerdigkeit der schriftl. Urkunden des Christenthums von *Joh. Fr. Kleuker*.

*Paley's Evidences. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.*

*Jones' New Method of settling the Canonical authority of the N. T.*

On the causes, multitude, and nature of the apocryphal books, see

*Kleuker ueber die Apokryphen des N. T. Hamb. 1798.* It is the fifth part of the work just quoted.

The *Integrity* of the N. T. consists in this, that no book anciently included in the canon, has been lost, and that none has been improperly added. And again, that no book has been so corrupted by interpolation or otherwise, either through carelessness or design, but that the genuine reading may be probably restored, and the true sense of the authors in doctrine, precept, and fact, be discovered. Integrity has been divided into *critical* and *doctrinal*. *Haenlein*, I. p. 261. *Ernesti* Inst. int. N. T.

Some have conjectured, that certain epistles and other writings of the divine authors, have not been preserved, and that some passages have been interpolated, but this does not affect the doctrinal integrity of the N. T.

Many unfounded opinions have been advanced on the designed corruptions, and improper emendations of the N. T.

*Pet. Wesseling* diatr. de Judæorum archontibus et diss. de Evangeliis jussu Anastasii imp. emendatis 1738.

*Barth. Germon* de vett. hæreticis eccles. codd. corruptoribus. Libri I. 1718.

*Bentley's Phileleutheri Lipsiensis* Remarks on a late discourse on Free-thinking, Cambr. 1725.

Since the time of *Bentley*, there has been much diversity of opinion, on the origin, number, use and importance of the various readings of the N. T.

*Jo. Sauberti* Epicrisis de origine auctoritate et usu varr. N. T. lectionum græcarum in genere, prefixed to his various readings upon Matthew.



*Ad. Rechenberg* d. de variantibus gr. N. T. lectionibus in ejus Exercitt. N. T. hist. eccl. et litt.

*L. L. Frey* Comm. de variis lectt. N. T. Bas. 1713.

*Christ. Luderi* d. de causis variant. lectionum SS. 1730.

*Ant. Driessenii* divina auctoritas Codicis N. T. vindicata a strepitu variant. lectt. Groen. 1733.

*Add. Michaelis* Introduction. *Henzlein* T. I.

As early as the beginning of the second century the number of various readings was very considerable.—See

*Griesbach*. Curæ in hist. text. epp. Paull. p. 74.

By far the greater part of these discrepancies, makes no alteration in the sense.

The *credibility* of the Sacred Writers, relates both to their narrations and instructions. The arguments upon this subject are exhibited by the defenders of christianity and the scriptures.

VI. The scrupulous care taken of the Sacred Writings, and the custom of using them constantly in the church, is sufficient to convince us that they have been preserved from any serious alterations, yet they could not be entirely defended from the fate of all other ancient writings. The autographs appear to have perished early, and the copies which were taken, became more or less subject to those errors, which arise from the mistakes of transcribers, the false corrections of commentators and critics, from marginal notes, and from other sources. These errors may have been extensively propagated, and in some instances they may have had an origin anterior to any MS. or means of correcting the text now extant.

*Jo. Frickii* Comm. de cura veteris eccl. circa canonem S. Scripturæ, Ulmæ 1728.

*Eb. Henr. Dan. Stosch* Comm. historica crit. de librorum N. T. canone, præmissa est diss. de cura vet. eccl. circa libros N. T. Francof. 1755.

On the *ecclesiastical use* of the N. T. during the first centuries, consult

*Muenschcr.* Handbuch der Chr. Dogmengesch. I. p. 312.

Various descriptions of the N. T. books were in use among the churches. Ἀναγνώσματα, ἀναγνώσεις, Lectiones, Evangelitaria, Praxapostoli, Lectionaria, Pericopæ, &c.

Vetustum eccl. græcæ Cpolit. ut videtur Evangeliarium Bibl. ducis Saxo-Gothani nunc primum totum—edidit *C. F. Matthæi* 1791.

Kalendarium Ecclesiæ Cpolit. e Bibl. Rom. Albanorum cura *St. Ant. Morcelli*, Rom. 1788.

*J. H. Thameri* Schediasma de origine et dignitate pericoparum quæ Evangelia et epistolæ vulgo vocantur, Jenæ 1716.

The Sacred Writers appear to have written in a continued series without leaving any intervals. After some ages Τίτλοι (sections) Κεφάλαια (chapters) Στίχοι, Ρήματα were introduced. There is, however, great diversity in the different MSS. in marking them.

Our distinctions into chapters and verses, are of much more recent origin. Some have considered *Hugo de S. Caro*, of the XIIIth century, as the author of our present chapters; others, *Stephan Langton*, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the same century; and others *Arlott*, President of the Franciscan order. The inventor of the verses, was *Rob. Stephens*, in 1551. The invention was made during a journey.

*Joach. Klepperbein* d. de distinctione N. T. in capita et versiculos, Vit. 1688. 4.

*Chr. Frid. Simeri* d. de distinctionibus textus N. T. in capita, versiculos, puncta, commata et cola L. 1694. 4.

Concerning the accents, breathings, and the iota subscriptum, there has been great dispute. The ancient and modern character and use is to be distinguished.—Consult

*Villoison* Anecd. Gr. I. p. 104.

*Fischer* Spec. anim. ad Vueller. I. p. 250.

*Michaelis* and *Haenlein*.

*S. G. Major* d. de iotorum subscriptione suspecta eorumque præsertim ex numis perpetuo exilio. Kil. 1688.

The present punctuation, which is frequently erroneous, could not be of the Apostolic age.

*Geo. Frid. Rogallii* diss. de auctoritate et antiquitate interpunctionis in N. T. 1734. 4.

*J. C. Herzog* Comm. de interpunctionum positu, præsertim in ep. ad Romanos L. 1707.

*Aug. Bischoff* d. de interpunctionibus N. T. Jenæ 1708. 4.

But few of the Sacred Writings were *ιδιογραφα*.

*Ferd. Stosch* Tractatus de epistolis apostolorum idiographis 1751.

*J. E. T. Walch* Ep. de apostolorum literis authenticis a Tertulliano commemoratis.

*The Autographs* early perished. Probable causes of this.

*Griesbach* Hist. textus epp. Paulinarum, Jen. 1777.

Perhaps many copies of some of the Sacred Writings, were immediately published. Thence, while the authors were yet living, and sometimes by their command, many copies were written, that they might be sent to various congregations. Thus both private and public collections were gradually formed.

Even in these first copies, mistakes may have been made, by transcribers, or something added by commentators or readers, with a view of explaining the phraseology, augmenting the narration, or illustrating the style; yet it may be supposed, that greater care would be bestowed on these than upon any other books.—Consult

*Haenlein* II. 1. p. 17. et de variis lectionibus earumque classibus.

It was the conjecture of *J. D. Michaelis*, that all our Sacred books were derived from one common source.—See,

Orient. und exeg. Bibl. XXI, 159.

VII. There are two opinions of modern critics, as to the proper method of examining the ancient MSS. and forming a correct opinion with regard to their excellence and authority. Some suppose that those MSS. are of most consequence, which are not only recommended by their antiquity, but which exhibit the text of the New Testament without any scholia, or any signs of alterations made from versions, commentaries, or the conjectures of learned men. Others are of opinion, that as it was early provided, that the churches of the larger provinces, should use the same sacred books, that critical recensions or editions were made, from which the Codices of those regions were transcribed; and therefore, that the value of the readings of these Codices is to be estimated, not from the number and age of individual Manuscripts, but from the antiquity and consent of these different editions.

MSS. were of parchment, silk, or paper; they differ also in their form and condition; some are written in capital or uncial letters; others, in smaller characters; some are rescripti, written over other works; some are corrected; some were designed for private use, others for the churches; some were negligently, and others accurately written. Some later MSS. are *electici* or *critical*, some are transcripts of other MSS. still extant, or of printed editions; some contain the whole N. T., others a greater or less number of the several books, and others are merely fragments. Some have latin translations, (codices bilin-gues) or scholia, or commentaries, annexed.

On the codices which were formerly called *latinizing*, see,

On determining the age of MSS., consult,

*Gattereri* Comm. de methodo ætatis codd. MSS. definiendæ, in Commentt. Soc. Goett. Vol. viii.

The authors who have attended with care to the judgment, to be formed of MSS., are *Matthæi*, *A. Bengel*, in *Introd. in crisin N. T.*, *Semler*, *Vorber. zur Theol. Hermen. IV.*, and *Griesbach*.

Distinction of MSS. into *recensions*, *editions*, or *families*.

*Griesbach*, originally made but two recensions, the Alexandrian or eastern, the Western or latin; to these he afterwards added the Byzantine. *Michaelis* added the Edessene; others a *mixed* edition. cf. *Haenlein*, I. 90, *Ammon* ad *Ernesti* Inst. p. 169.

Some of the MSS. have been entirely, others but partially collated.

The MSS. of the N. T. remarkable for their age or excellence, have been described by

*Rich. Simon* diss. crit. sur les principaux Actes Manuscrits etc. at the end of his work, *Histoire crit.*, referred to above.

*Michaelis* in his Introduction translated by *Marsh*.

*Haenlein* Handbuch II.

*Griesbach* Prolegg. ad N. T. and in his *Symbol. Crit.* and by *Mill*, *Wetstein*, *Matthæi*, *Alter*, *Birch*, in the prefaces or Prolegomena to their editions of the N. T., or collections of various readings.

#### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS WHICH HAVE BEEN HITHERTO COLLATED.

I. *Codex Alexandrinus*. This MS. is written in uncial letters, in four vols. fol. of which the first three contain the O. T., the fourth the whole of the New. In the opinion of *Woide*, this vol. was written by two different scribes. It is not complete, as it begins with Matt. XXV. 6, and in John there is a chasm from Ch. VI. 50, to VIII. 52. In the opinion of *Griesbach* it sometimes agrees with

the Alexandrian, sometimes with the Western recension, and at others differs from both.—See

Novum Test. Græcum e cod. MS. Alexandrino qui Londini in Bibl. Mus. Britann. adservatur descriptum a *Car. Godofr. Woide*, Lond. 1786, f.

II. *Amandi* codex, was known to *Erasmus*. Little concerning this MS. has been made public.

III. *Angelici* codices, in the library of the Augustinian monks at Rome. They are two in number, and have been partially collated by *Birch*.

IV. *Askewiani*, formerly the property of *Ant. Askew*, now in the British Museum. There are several MSS. belonging to this collection, but they have not been accurately collated.

V. *Augiensis*, formerly belonging to *Bentley*, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It contains the Epistle of Paul, mutilated. The Greek is written in uncial letters, the Latin version, which attends it, in small letters.

VI. *Augustani* codices. They are twelve in number. The best account of them is given by *C. F. Matthæi*.

VII. *Bandurii*, is a fragment in uncial letters containing the history of the Publican and Pharisee.

VIII. Codices *Barberinii*, in the library founded by Cardinal *Barberinus*, in the 17th century. Of these MSS, twelve have been examined.

IX. *Barocciani*, two; now in the Bodleian library.

X. *Basilienses*, six; one contains the IV Gospels in uncial letters, and another the whole of the N. T. (excepting the Apocalypse,) in small letters.

XI. *Basiliani*, in the library of the Monks of St. Basil at Rome, of these they reckon six.—See

*Montfaucon*. Bibl. Bibliothecarum T. I.

XII. *Bodleiani*, twelve; (*Millii*. Prolegg. Sect. 1423, *Semler* Herm. Vorb. III. 257.



XIII. *Boenerianus*, now in Dresden, a Greek and Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, (excepting the Epistle to the Heb.) in uncial letters.

XIV. *Benoniensis*, in the library of the Regular Canons, No. 640, containing all the N. T. but the Apocalypse. It has been slightly examined by *Birch*.

XV. *Boreeli*, a MS. of the IV Gospels in uncial letters from Matt. vii. 6. It has been only partially collated.

XVI. *Borgiani*, four, in the Museum of Cardinal *Steph. Borgia*.

XVII. *Camerarii* codex, frequently quoted by *Camerarius* on the Gospels, in his Commentary on the N. T.

XVIII. *Cantabrigienses*, in number nine. The MS. which by way of eminence is called the codex *Cantabrigiensis*, formerly belonged to *Theod. Beza*. It is written in uncial letters, and contains the Gospels and Acts. There are many chasms in it, some of which have been filled up by a later hand. A fac simile of this MS. was published in fol. by *Dr. Kipling* 1793, to which he prefixed its history.

XIX. *Carpzovianus*, a MS. of the 12th century, containing the four Gospels.

XX. *Claramontanus*, is a greek and latin MS. of the Epis. of St. Paul, written in uncial letters, in which the beginning of the Epistle to the Rom. and the end of that to the Hebrews is wanting. *Griesbach* collated it anew, and has described it fully in his *Symbb. Critt.* Tom. II. p. 31, ss. He thinks that it was written in the 7th century, and that it has been corrected by five successive critics, from the 8th to the 11th centuries. Before these corrections it seems to have differed very much from the western recension. It was used by *Beza*, and is now in the royal library.

XXI. Codices *Coisliani*, in the library of the Benedictines of St. Germain. They are fourteen in number.— See,

XXII. *Colbertini*, twelve. These were procured by *J. B. Colbert*, and afterwards transferred to the royal library.—See,

*Bibliotheca Colbertina*, Paris, 1728, and *Montfauc.* *Palæographia*, Gr. passim, in primis, p. 209.

XXIII. *Cottoniani*, two, of which one is a fragment containing part of the Gospels, written in uncial letters, the other is a lectionarum.—See,

*Smith Bibliotheca Cottoniana*, Ox. 1795.

XXIV. *Covelliani*, five. Brought by *D. Covell*, from the East, now deposited with the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. See Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. Lond. 1759.

XXV. *Geo. Douzæ* Codex, a greek and latin MS. of the IV Gospels.

XXVI. *Dresdenses*, four ; neither of them anterior to the 13th century.

XXVII. *Dublinenses*, four. One of these is the codex *Montfortianus* of the 16th century, containing the whole of the N. T. It was known to *Erasmus*, and is famous as containing I. John, 5, 7. The fourth is a codex rescriptus of about the 7th cent., containing most of the Gospel of Matthew in uncial letters.

XXVIII. *Ebnerianus*. It contains the whole of the N. T. excepting the Apocalypse.

XXIX. *Escorialenses*, twenty—see,

*Moldenhaverus* ap. *Birchium Prolegg.* ad. ed. IV. Evv.

Of these twelve, have been more or less carefully examined.

XXX. *Eubeswaldianus*. A codex of the four Gospels.

XXXI. *Jac. Fabri*. Greek MSS. which he sometimes quotes in his commentary on St. Paul's Epistles ; marked by *Griesbach* and *Wetstein* as No. 13.



XXXII. *Andr. Fueschii*. Two MSS. collated by *Wetstein*.

XXXIII. *Florentini*. 1st. *Laurentiani* quoted by *Birch* in his *Prolegomena*, and by him slightly examined; in number, twenty six. 2d. A Greek codex from the *Bibliotheca eccles. Aedilium* in Florence. 3d. Two in the library of the *Benedictines* of *St. Mary*. 4th. Three in the library *Fratrum Prædicatorum*.

XXXIV. *Galei Codex* of the four Gospels, with *Scholias*.

XXXV. *Gehlianus* now *Goettingensis*. A MS. of the four Gospels.

XXXVI. *Genevenses*, two—see,

*Senebier Catalogue raisonne des msts. conservees dans la Bibl. publ. de la Ville de Geneve, 1779.*

XXXVII. *Guelpherbytani* codices, five. Of these one is a codex rescriptus of the 6th cent., containing a fragment of the Gospels. Another also of the 6th century, contains part of *Luke* and *John*. See on both,

*Semler Hermen. Vorber. IV.*

XXXVIII. Cod. *Henr. Googii* containing the four Gospels.

XXXIX. *Graevii*. A codex of the Gospels, of the 11th century.

XL. *Gravii*. A MS. of the Gospels.

XLI. *Codices Harleiani*. Now in the *British Museum*. vid. A catalogue of the *Harleian* collection of MSS. purchased by authority of *Parliament* for the use of the public, and preserved in the *British Museum, Lond. 1759*. Of these nine are here enumerated, others having been mentioned already in No. XXIV, and an other will be mentioned below under the title *Johnson*.

XLII. *Havniensis*, three. vid. *Codicum N. T. Græcorum qui Havniæ in Bibl. Regia adservantur notitia,*

adjuncta lectionis varietate auctore *C. G. Hensler* Specimen I. Hafn. 1784.

XLIII. *Huntingdoniani*, two ; now in the Bodleian library—see,

*Mill* and *Griesbach's Symb.* II.

XLIV. *Johnsonianus*, now Harlei. 5647, in the British Museum. It is an elegantly written codex of the 11th century.

XLV. *Lambethanus* ; commonly called *Ephesius*, because it formerly belonged to the Bishop of Ephesus ; now in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It contains the four Gospels, and was written about 1160.

XLVI. *Laudiani*, five ; now in the Bodleian library, cf. Catal. MSS. Angl. T. I. P. I.

XLVII. *Leicestrensis*. A codex written partly on paper, partly upon parchment, of the 14th cent., containing the whole N. T.—Several chasms.

XLVIII. *San-Maglorianus*. A codex of the 12th cent. ; containing the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles.

LIX. *Manhemiensis*. A codex of the four Gospels, written in uncial letters.

I. Cod. *Mazarini*, of the 10th century.

LI. Codices *Meadii*, now in the Brit. Museum. Two of them have been mentioned in No. IV. ; the third is an Evangelistarium.

LII. *Medicei*, four ; partly examined by *Wetstein*.

LIII. *Missyani* codices, three lectionaria.

LIV. *Molsheimensis*, containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles

LV. *Mosquenses* Codices, thirty-three—see,

*Matthæi* præf. ad Eph. ad Cor. tabulam duplicis divisionis codd. Evangel. in classes, præmissam Ev. *Matthæi*, inprimisque præf. Eph. Cathh. et præf. Ev. Marci.

LVI. *Neapolitanus* Regius, embraces the Acts, the

Epistles, and some chapters of the Apocalypse. It was written in the 11th cent.

LVII. *Oxonienses*, thirteen—see, *Mill's Prolegomena*.

LVIII. *Palatino-Bavarici*. Here should be mentioned particularly the codex *Ingolstadiensis*, which contains the Gospels in uncial letters, with an extended commentary written in smaller letters.

LIX. Cod. Cardin. *Dom. Passionei*, containing the Acts and Epistles, in large letters, written in the 7th or 8th cent.

LX. *Parisini*, formerly *Regii*—see,

Catal. MSS. Bibl. Reg. T. II. p. 12.

One of these, No. 9, is called the codex *Ephremi*, because the works of *Ephrem* the Syrian, are written over the Greek Bible; parts of which are still legible—see,

*Griesbach Symb. Crit.*

No. 62, is in uncial letters, and belongs to the 9th cent. No. 48, containing the Gospels in uncial letters, written in the 10th cent. There are thirty enumerated under this head, besides those already mentioned.

LXI. *Perronianus*. A codex of the 10th cent. containing the four Gospels.

LXII. *Petaviani*, three.

LXIII. *Posoniensis*, contains the four Gospels.

LXIV. *Reuchlini*. A codex of the Apocalypse of considerable antiquity, used by *Erasmus* in his first edition.

LXV. *Rhodiensis*. A codex containing the Epistles. It was used by the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott.

LXVI. *Rutgersii*. A codex of the four Gospels.

LXVII. *Seidelianus*. A MS. brought from the East, by *A. E. Seidel*.

LXVIII. *Seldeniani*, three, in the Bodleian library, besides two Evangelistaria, collated by *Mill*.

LXIX. *Stephani* codices, fifteen; used by *Rob. Stephens* for his edition of 1550. Whether these MSS. are now extant, is disputed—see,

*Travis' Letters to Gibon. Porson's Letters to Travis. Marsh's Letters to Travis, Appen. N. I. and Griesbach. Prolegomena ad N. T.*

LXX. *Siculi* codices, four; examined by *Birch*.

LXXI. *Tigurinus*. A codex of the Epistles of Paul, which, in the opinion of *Wetstein*, is a transcript of the first edition of *Erasmus*, taken by *U. Zwinglius*, in 1516.

LXXII. *Tubingensis*. Is a fragment containing Joh. I, 38—50, in the large characters.

LXXIII. *Uffenbachiani*, four—see,

*J. H. Maii Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana Msta. Hal. 1720.*

LXXIV. *Upsaliensis*. A MS. containing the Acts and the Epistles.

LXXV. *Laur. Vallae* codices. This author, in his annotations on Matthew, quotes three, and upon John, seven greek MSS. Some of these, however, may have been since examined by other critics. Their various readings, as exhibited by *Erasmus*, do not appear to be important.

LXXVI. *Vaticani*. In the Vatican, properly so called, twenty-six. Of these, one is called the codex *Vaticanus* by way of eminence. It contains the Old and New Test. in uncial letters. It is of great antiquity, and is in value, the rival of the codex *Alexandrinus*. 2. *Palatino-Vaticani*. Given by *Maximilian* Elect. of Bavaria, under *Urban VIII.* to the Vatican library. Of these there are eight, containing more or less of the N. T. 3. *Alexandrino-Vaticani*, six, added by *Alexander VIII.* 4. *Urbino-Vaticani*, two. 5. *Pio-Vaticani*, two, added by *Pius II.* 6. *Bibl. S. Mariæ*, four. 7. In the library of *Card. de Zalada* is a MS. of 11th cent. beautifully written, containing the four Gospels.

LXXVII. *Veneti*, nineteen. See,

*Montfaucon. Bibl. MSS. T. I. Birch. Prol. ad Evv. Jac. Morellius Bibl. MSS. gr. et lat. Ven. T. I.*

LXXVIII. Cod. *Vigerii*, of the 9th or 10th cent. containing the four Gospels, examined by Bogotius.

LXXIX. *Vindobonenses*, twenty-five. See,

*H. Treschow*, Tentam. descript. codd. vett. aliquot Gr. N. T. MSS. qui in bibl. Cæs. Vindob. asservantur, etc. Havn. 1773.

LXXX. *Westmonasteriensis*, in the Brit. Mus.; it contains the Acts and Epistles.

LXXXI. *Winchelseanus*. A codex of the 10th cent. containing the four Gospels.

LXXXII. *Wolfiani*, three, two of which were brought from the East.

LXXXIII. *Zittaviensis*. A codex containing the historical books of the O. T. and all the writings of the New.

The number of MSS., therefore, which have been collated, is 394. Of these thirty-three are in uncial letters. Eighteen contain the whole N. T. Twenty-seven all the N. T. with the exception of the Apocalypse. Twelve contain all the books excepting the Gospels. The Acts and Epistles are found in thirty-five. The Acts and Catholic Epistles in six. The Acts and Epistles of Paul in five. The Epistles in three. Two hundred and three contain the Gospels alone. The Acts are found separately in one. Twenty-six contain the whole or greater part of the Epistles of Paul. But few MSS. contain the Apocalypse, in connection with other books, and still fewer contain it alone, as this book was seldom read in the churches.

Besides these, there are other codices, which are of some importance, which contain selections from the various books of the N. T.

VIII. In order to form a correct opinion, respecting the character and state of the text of the N. T., we must not only consult the MSS. which are now extant, but also attend to the ancient versions, which are not of less importance, in reference to the criti-

cism, than they are to the interpretation, of the Sacred Volume. The only other source of information upon this subject is, the quotations from the N. T., to be found in the early writers.

On the versions, consult *Michaelis* and *Haenlein*, so often referred to—also,

*Fabricii Bibliotheca*, Gr. IV.

*Le Long* Bibl. Sacra, edited by *Masch.* P. II. V. 1.

*Rosenmueller* Handbuch III.

*Rich. Simon* Histoire crit. de les versions N. T.

These versions are,

I. The oriental.

1st. The Syriac. a. The old version is called simple (*Peschito*). The best edition is by *Schaaf*, 1717. On this important version, see,

*P. J. Bruns* Bemerkungen über einige der vornehmsten Ausgaben der Syr. Ueb. des N. T. &c. in Repert. für Bibl. u. Morg. Litt.

*J. D. Michaelis* curæ in versionem Syr. Actuum App. Gott. 1755.

b. The more modern Syriac version is called *Philoxenian*, from *Philoxenus*, Bishop of Hierapolis, from A. D. 488 to 518, who had this version made by *Polycarp*, his Rural Bishop, A. D. 508.

Sacrorum Evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana nunc primum edita cum interpret. et annotatt. *Joseph White*, Ox. 1778.

c. A third Syriac version is the Jerusalem, called by others, the Syro-Assyrian.

N. T. versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinata, a *Jac. G. C. Adler* Hafn. 1789.

*Gloc. Ridley* diss. de Syriacarum N. T. versionum indole et usu, 1761.

*G. C. Storr* observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis. Stuttg. 1772, 8.

2nd. The Egyptian versions—the Coptic and Sahidic.

Novum Test. Ægypticum, vulgo Copticum, ex MSS. Bodlei descripsit, eum Vaticæ. et Pariss. contulit, et in Lat. Sermonem convertit *Dav. Wilkins*, Ox. 1716.



*Frid. Muentzer* Comm. de indole versionis N. T. Sahidicæ.  
*Eichhorn* Bibl. der b. Litt. IV.

3d. *Arabic* versions. Some of these were made from the Greek, others from the Syriac, Coptic, and Latin versions, and none of them are very ancient.

*Tho. Erpenius* integrum N. T. e cod. Leid. Scaligeri, 1616 edidit.  
*G. C. Storr* diss. critica de Evangeliiis Arabicis Tub. 1775.

4. The Aethiopic version, of which *Fruementius*, who founded the Christian Church in Aethiopia, is thought to be the author.

The Roman edition in 1548 and 49, and repeated in the Lon. Polyglott.

Novum Test. ex versione Aethiop. interpretis—ex Aeth. lingua in lat. translatum. a *C. A. Bode*.

5. The Arminian. Translated by *Miesrob*, A. D. 410.

Veteris et Novi Test. versio Arm. 1666.

6. Persian. There are two versions of the Gospels, one from the Syriac, in the Lond. Polyglott; the other edited by *Wheloc* and *Pierson*, collected from various MSS.

## II. Latin versions.

1. Those before the time of Jerome.

Bibliorum SS. latinæ versiones antiquæ s. Vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæque in codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum vulg. lat. et cum textu græco comparantur. Opera et studio *D. Petri Sabatier*. Remis 1743, III. f. Evangeliarium quadruplex latinæ versionis antiquæ s. veteris Italicæ nunc primum in lucem editum ex codd. MSS. a *Jos. Blanchino*. Rom. 1748, II. f.

Several MSS. are extant which have latin versions attached to the Greek text, which differ from the Vulgate.

2 Versions of Jerome, partly corrected, partly made de novo.

Hieronymi divina Bibliotheca complectens translationes V. et N. T. e vetustissimis Codd. Vatic. Gallic. etc. opera et studio Monachorum ord. Bened. (*Martianzi*) Par. 1693, f.

3. The Vulgate was gradually formed out of those just mentioned. Of this there are MSS. extant of considerable antiquity. Since the invention of printing, there have been numerous editions of the Vulgate; the most important are—Complutensis, 1517. Andr. Osiandri, Nor. 1522. Rob. Stephani, 1523; and frequently after this date. Joh. Benedicti, Par. 1541. J. Clarii, 1542—Lovanensium Theoll. Lon. 1547.

The editions of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. were printed, the one, in 1590, the other in 1593. As rivals they gave rise to considerable controversy.

*Tho James* Bellum Papale, s. Concordia discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. circa Hieron. edit. Lond. 1600.

*Sixtini Amanæ* censura vulg. lat. versionis, Franequ. 1624. Ejusdem Antibarbarus Biblicus, Amst. 1628.

*J. Fr. le Bret* d. de usu versionis lat. veteris in eccl. chr. occasione Codd. Stuttgardensium, Tub. 1786.

### III. Other Western versions.

1. The Gothic. Of the four Gospels, there are two very ancient versions, the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon; the former was edited from a MS. in silver letters, by *Junius*—the latter was published from MSS. by *Tho. Mareshall*, 1665.

Evangeliorum versio Goth. Ulfilæ cum parallelis versionibus Sueo-Gothica etc. Stockh. 1671.

*Jo. ab Ihre* Scripta versionem Ulfilianam et linguam Moeso-Gothicam illustrantia—cum aliis Scriptis similis argumenti edita ab *Ant. Fr. Buesching*. Ber. 1773.

2. Anglo-Saxonica. Una edita est IV. Evagg. versio Saxonica et Anglica a *Matth. Parker*, 1571.

3. Slavonic, made in the ninth or tenth cent., which corrected, is used by the Russians.

*J. P. Kohl* Introductio in Historiam et rem litterariam Slavorum in primis sacram, s. historia critica verss. Slavonicarum maxime insignium—Alt. 1729.

4. The ancient German; these, however, are not from the Greek, but from the Latin.



IX. Neither the first editors of the N. T., nor those who immediately followed them, were able to do justice, to the important work which they had undertaken. They were destitute of many critical helps, which later editors have possessed, and the art of criticism itself, was, at that period, not sufficiently reduced to a system. These advantages have been embraced by learned men, and critical editions of almost every size, have been presented to the public.

On the editions of the New Testament, see *Michaelis*'s Introduction. *Le Long*. Bibliotheca Sacra ed. *Masch* I, p. 189. *Fabricius* IV, p. 839. *Griesbach*. Historia Edd. N. T. Graeci, in *Barkey* Mus. Hag. II, II. 493. *Rosenmueller* Handbuch I. 278. *Haenlein* Handb. II, I. 254.

On the received text (formed from the edition of *Rob. Stephens*, of 1550, and especially from the Elzevir edition of 1624.) see *Griesbach*. Sect. I. Prolegg

I. Editiones principes. Sex Johannis capita. ven. ap. Ald. 1504. v. *Adler* in Repert. für Bibl. und Morg. Litt. XVIII. Evangelium Johannis, Tubingæ, 1514.

*Complutensian Edition*, printed in the Polyglott of Complutum, 1514; published 1522. The MSS. used for this edition, it is thought, were modern. A long controversy was carried on, upon this point, principally between *Goeze* and *Semler*, v. *Walther* in *Walch* Neuester Religionsgesch. IV. p. 425. The text of this edition, has been followed by many others.

The five editions of *Erasmus*, with translations. a. Novum Instrumentum omne diligenter ab *Erasmio* Roterdamo recognitum et emendatum non solum ad græcam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguæ codd. fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem. Basiliæ in æd. *Jo. Frobenii*,

1516. b. His second edition (multo quam antehac diligentius recognitum) was published in 1519. c. His third, 1522. In this edition he inserted the passage I. John, V, 7, upon the authority of a British MS. d. His fourth appeared in 1527. e. His fifth (accuratissima cura recognitum) was published with annotations, Basil. 1535.

II. The early editions, in which the text of the *editiones principes* was reviewed upon the authority of MSS.

*Sim. Colinaei* gr. Lut. Par. 1538, 8vo., see *Griesbach*. Symb. crit.

*C. Guillardiae* s. *Jac. Bogardi*, gr. et lat. Par. 1543, 8. Those of *Rob. Stephens*, three in Greek, 1546, 12mo.; 1549 12mo.; and the splendid edition of 1550 in folio; and one in greek and latin, 1551, Genevæ.

On the MSS. which Stephens used—see,

*Marsh's* additions to Michaelis, and his Letters to Travis append. N. I. *Griesbach*. Prolegg. ad ed. N. T.

The editions of *Rob. Stephens*, jun., Lut. 1569, of *Jo. Crispin*, gr. Genevæ, 1553, 8, and *Henr. Stephens*, 1576, followed with little alteration.

The editions of *Theodore Beza*, with a latin version, 1565, 1572, 1589, 1598. f.

III. Editions, which exhibit a text, formed from the editions, which had been previously published.

*Wecheliae*, Erf. ad M. 1597. f. 1601. f. II. voll. *Elzeveriae* 1624. 16mo. 1633. 12. *Boccleriae* Argent. 1645. 1660. 12mo. *Er. Schmidii* gr. lat. Nbg. 1658. f.

The following critics, carried on the collection of various readings, more extensively, and accurately, than their predecessors had done. *Stephan Curcellaeus* (ed. N. T. gr. Amst. 1658.) *Brian Walton* (in the London Polyglott, T. V. and VI. 1657.) *Jo. Fell* (Novi Test. libri omnes accesserunt parallela Script. loea una cum varr. lectt. ex plus 100, MSS. codd. et anti. verss. collectæ, Ox. 1675. Of this edition there was a splendid reprint in Ox. 1703.)

## IV. Modern critical editions.

Novum Test. cum Lectt. varr. MSS. exemplarium, versionum, edd., SS. PP. et Scr. eccl. et in easdem notis, Accedunt loca Scr. parallela etc. Præmittuntur dissertatio, et historia S. textus N. Fœderis—studio et labore *Jo. Millii*. Ox. 1707. f. Reprinted with improvements and additions by *Kuster*. Amst. et L. 1710.

*Dan. Whitby* Examen variantium Lectionum Jo. Millii in N. T. etc. Lond. 1720. f. rec. Lugd. B. 1724. *Cph. Matth. Pfaffii* diss. critica de genuinis librorum N. T. Lectionibus, ope canonum quorundam critt. indagandis, ubi et de Millii Collectione Varr. N. T. Lectt. modeste disseritur. Amst. 1709. 8.

*J. A. Bengelii* Prodromus N. T. Græce recte cauteque adornandi, 1725, adi. Chrysostomi LL. de Sacerdotio. Auctior Prodromus 1731.

Novum Test. ita adornatum, ut textus probatarum edd. medullam, margo. varr. lectt. delectum, apparatus subjunctus criseos sacræ compendium exhibeat, inserviente *J. A. Bengelio*, Tub. 1734.

*J. A. Bengelii* Defensio N. T. græce, Tubingæ editt. L. B. 1737.

Eiusd. Tractatio de sinceritate N. T. græca tuenda. Cum. adpersis ab editore *C. B. Michaelis* adnotatiunculis, Hal. 1750.

Apparatus critici Secunda et auctior ed. cur. *Phil. Dav. Burkii*, 1763. 4.

(*Jo. Jac. Wetstenii*) Prolegomena ad N. T. græci edit. accuratissimam, e vetustissimis Codd. MSS. denuo procurandam, etc. Amst. 1730. 8. postea auctiora ab ipso edita, et *Semleri* cura repetita, v. supra. p. 12.

Novum Test, græcum ed. receptæ cum lectt. varr. codd. MSS. edd. aliarum, versionum et patrum nec non commentario pleniore—opera et st. *Jo. Jac. Wetstenii*, Tom. I., Amst. 1751. f. T. II. 1752. f. (recus. Bas. 1775. sed cum nota a. 1751.)

*I. A. Ernesti Specimen castigationum in Wetstenii edit. N. T. in Opusce. phil. et crit. p. 326. ss.*

Libri historici N. T. græce, Pars prior sistens Synopsin Evagg. Matthæi, Marci et Lucæ. Textum ad fidem codd. verss. et patrum emendavit, et lect. var. adiecit *Griesbach*, Hal. 1774. (Eiusd. ed. secunda emend. et auct. Hal. 1798. 8.) Pars posterior, sistens Joh. Ev. et Acta App. 1775. 8. Nov. Test. græce, Textum ad fid. codd.—adjecit *Griesbach*, vol. I. Evangelia et Acta App. complectens, Hal. 1777. 8. Vol. II. Epistolas et Apocalypsin complectens, 1775. 8. Novum Test. græce. Textum—recensuit, et lect. var. adiecit *J. J. Griesbach*. Vol. I. Quatuor Evangelia complectens. Editio secunda emendatior multoque locupletior, Hal. et Lond. 1796. 8. mai.

*J. J. Griesbachii* Curæ in historiam textus græci Epp. Paull. Specimen primum. Jenæ, 1777, 4.

Symbolæ criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas VV. N. T. Lectionum collectiones. Accedit multorum N. T. codd. gr. descriptio et examen. Tomus prior. Hal. 1785. 8. Tomus posterior 1793.

Commentarius criticus in textum gr. N. T. particula I. Jenæ 1798. 8. mai. (XX. Capp. Matthæi.)

Novum Test. XII. Tomis distinctum, græce et latine. Textum denuo recensuit, varr. lectiones nunquam antea vulgatas collegit—Scholia græca—addidit, animadverss. criticas adjecit et edidit *Cph. Frid. Matthæi*, Rigæ 1788. 8. (Singulæ partes separatim inde ab a. 1782, prodierant, cf. *Eichhorn*. Bibl. II, p. 305. ss.) Novum Testam. ad Codicem Vindobon. græce expressum. Varietatem lect. addidit *Tr. Car. Alter*. Viennæ, Vol. I. 1787; Vol. II. 1786. 8. cf. *Eichhorn*. I, 1. II, p. 102. ss.

Quatuor Evangelia græce cum variantibus a textu lectionibus codd. MSS. Bibl. Vat. Barb. Laurent. Vindob. Escur. Havn. quibus accedunt lectiones verss. syrarum—edidit *Andr. Birch*, Havn. 1788, 4. (*Eichhorn* II, 116. ss.)

Variæ Lectiones ad textum Actt. app. Epp. Cathol. et Pauli e codd. gr. MSS. Bibl. Vat. Barber. etc. collectæ et editæ ab *Andr. Birch*, Havn. 1798, 8. (*Griesbach* in *Neuen theol. Tourn.* XIII, (1799) p. 396. ss.)

Variæ Lectiones ad textum Apocalypseos—collectæ et editæ ab *Andr. Birch*, Havn. 1800, 8.

Variæ Lectiones ad textum IV. Evangg.—collectæ et editæ ab *A. Birch*, H. 1801, 8. (*Gabler* *Journ. f. theol. Litt.* III. 71. ss.)

#### V. Smaller critical editions.

Novum Test. post priores Steph. Curcellæi tum et Oxoniensium labores, quibus parallela Ser. loca nec non varr. lectt.—collectæ exhibentur; accedit—crisis perpetua, qua singulas variantes—ad XLIII. Canones examinat G. D. T. M. D. (*Gerh. van Mastricht*) Amst. 1711. 8.

The New Testament in Greek and English, containing the original text corrected from the authority of the most authentic MSS. with notes and various readings, Lond. 1729. 11. 8. (auct. *D. Mace.*) See,

*Leon. Twells* examination of the late N. T. Lond. 1732. 8.

Novum Test. græcum ad fidem græcorum solum Codd. MSS. nunc primum expressum. Accessere in altero Volumine emendationes coniecturales V V. D D. undique collectæ Lond. cura typis et sumt. G. B. (*Guil. Bowyer,*) 1763. II. 8.

The New Testament collated with the most approved Manuscripts, with select notes in English; to which are added a Catalogue of the principal Editions of the Greek Testament, and a list of the most esteemed commentators, by *E. Harwood*, Lond. 1776. 1784. 11. 8. min.

Editiones *Leusdenii* inde ab a. 1693. plures—*Rein- eccii* inde ab a 1725. sæpius—*Chr. Schoetgenii* L. 1744. Vratisl. 1781. 8. *Bengelii* Stulg. 1734. 8. et sæp. Ed. *quintæ* (mendis typogr. obsitæ) accedit *Spicilegium* lectt. var. auctore *Ern. Bengelio*, Tub. 1790. 8.



Testamentum D. N. J. C. novum in usum studiosæ juventutis edidit *Laur. Sahl.* Havniæ, 1787. 11. 8.

Novum Test. græce. Recognovit atque insignioris lectt. varietatis et argumentorum notationes subiunxit *G. C. Knappius*, Hal. 1797. 8.

VI. Critical editions, with annotations.

Novum Test. græce. Perpetua annot. illustratum a *J. B. Koppe*, Vol. I. compl. Epp. Pauli ad Gal. Thess. Eph. Gött. 1778. 8. Second edition by *T. C. Tychsen*, 1791. 8. Volumen IV. complectens Ep. Pauli ad Rom., Gött. 1783. 8.

Volumen VII. compl. Epp. Pauli ad Tim. Tit. et Philem. continuavit *J. H. Heinrichs* Gött. 1792. Volumen IX. compl. Epp. Jacob. et Petri—continuavit, *Dav. Jul. Pott*.

Volumen VIII. compl. Ep. Pauli ad Ebræos continuavit. *J. H. Heinrichs*. Vol. X. complec. Apocal. continuavit, *J. H. Heinrichs*.

Pauli ad Corinthios Epp. græce. Perpetua annot. illustratæ a *F. A. Gu. Krause*. Vol. I. complec. Ep. priorem Fr. f. ad M. 1792.

Pauli Ap. Ep. ad Philipp. gr. ex. rec. Griesbach. annot. perpetua illustrata a *M. J. G. am Ende*, Vit. 1798.

Epistola Judæ gr. Commentario critico et annot. perpetua illustrata a *H. C. A. Haenlein*, Erl. 1799.

*H. E. G. Paulus*, Philologisch-krit. und histor. Kommentar, über das neue Test. in welchem der griech. Text nach einer Recognition der varianten etc. bearbeitet ist. Erster Theil der drei ersten Evv., erste Hälfte, Lüb. 1800. 8. Zweiter Th. der drei ersten Evangelisten, zweite Hälfte 1801. 8. Dritter Theil, 1802. 8.

*Michaelis* in his Introduction, after giving the character of the various editions, which were then published, states the objects which it is still desirable to obtain, in a critical edition of the N. T. See also, *Haenlein* Handbuch, II. 292.

### SECTION III.

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#### CRITICAL LAWS OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. If the origin and nature of the readings of the N. T. be understood, it will be perceived, that besides the laws, which all interpreters of ancient authors, ought to follow, in examining ancient documents, in selecting from their various readings—in detecting and expunging interpolations, in filling up chasms, and restoring depraved passages—there must be others, peculiar to the Sacred Volume.

*J. H. ab Elsvich* Diss. de recentiorum in Novum Fœdus critice, Vit. 1711.

*J. C. Klemm* Principia Criticæ Sacræ N. T. Tub. 1746. 4.

*Jo. Geo. Richter* Exerc. de arte critica Scripturæ interprete, L. 1750. 4.

*J. L. Frey* Comm. de varr. lectt. N. Test. Bas. 1713.

*C. B. Michaelis* Tractatio crit. de var. lectt. N. T. caute colligendis et dijudicandis, in quo cum de illarum causis—tum de cautelis agitur, simulque de codicibus, versionibus antiquis et Patribus partim curiosa, partim utilia afferuntur, Hal. Magd. 1749. 4.

*Fr. Ant. Knittels* neue Gedanken von den allgemeinen Schreibfehlern in den Handschr. des N. T. Braunsch. 1755. 4.

*J. J. Breintingeri* Diss. crit. de examine dubiæ lectionis N. T. rite instituendo, Mus. Helv. XVIII. See also, the works of *Semler*, *Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*, already frequently referred to.

*Criticism* is divided, although not very properly, into *higher* and *lower*, and each into *grammatico-historical* and *conjectural*.

I. *Lower* or *verbal* criticism. See,

*S. G. Wald* diss. de eo, quod incertum est in critica verbali N. T., Regiom. 1795. 4.

The general rule is, that the reading which bears, as it were, the impress of the author's hand, and from which it may be seen, how the other readings might easily have

arisen, is probably genuine. Hence, it is proper, that even the obvious errors of transcribers, should be noted, as they often furnish indications of the correct reading.

The common laws which are of authority, in the criticism of profane authors in general, are,

1. That reading, which rests upon the testimony of decidedly the greatest number of witnesses, is to be esteemed genuine. Yet all the readings of the smaller number of witnesses, are not at once to be rejected.

2. That reading, which is found in the best copies, unless other reasons forbid, is to be preferred to that which rests upon inferior copies, although these copies be the more numerous. The antiquity and intrinsic excellence of a reading, do not, of themselves, prove it to be genuine.

3. That reading, which is the more harsh, obscure, difficult, and unusual, if it have besides, competent testimony in its behalf, is to be preferred to the perspicuous, the obvious, and the usual. Difficulty is sometimes in the style and connexion, sometimes in particular words and phrases, sometimes it is grammatical, historical, or doctrinal.

4. That reading, which is most consistent with popular and familiar usage, if supported by external testimony, is to be preferred to that which is more artificial or abstruse.

5. The shorter reading, *caeteris paribus*, is to be preferred.

6. That reading, which furnishes the best sense, is to be selected. But in deciding upon this point, the nature of the passage, and character of the writer, and not our own opinions, are to be regarded.

7. That reading, which gives an unmeaning, or incongruous sense, is to be rejected. Care, however, must be taken, that we do not hastily decide that a sense is false, which a more thorough examination, may show to be probable, and perhaps correct.

8. The reading, most consistent with the author's style,



is to be preferred. It should be remembered, however, that the style of an author, in a course of years, sometimes changes.

9. That reading is to be rejected, which exhibits indications of an alteration designedly made.

These changes might arise,

a. From doctrinal reasons, Matt. XXVII, 16.

b. From moral, or ascetic causes.

c. From doubts on historical, or geographical grounds. Matthew, VIII, 28.

d. From the desire of reconciling passages apparently contradictory.

e. From the desire of increasing the force of an expression.

f. From the collation of different MSS., whose readings are sometimes intermixed.

g. From the comparison of similar passages.

10. Those which arise from mere negligence of transcribers, or the errors frequent in all writings, are not, properly speaking, to be regarded as various readings. Under this head belong,

a. The commutation of dialects, especially the Macedonian, Alexandrian, or others, with the common. *Fischer*. *Proluss de vit. Lex. N. T.* p. 666. The common forms, and those of the Alexandrian dialect, in the N. T., are more commonly genuine than those of the other dialects.

b. The change of letters and syllables, through mistake, either of the eye, or the ear.

c. The confusion of synonymous words.

d. The introduction of notes from the margin into the text, and the uniting of two readings.

e. The omission of a word or verse.

f. The transposition of words or passages—see,

*Everw. Wussenberg.* diss. phil. crit. de transpositione, seu saluberrimo in sanandis vett. Scriptis remedio. Francf. 1786.

g. Mistakes from words of similar termination, or similar appearance ; or from neighbouring words terminating or beginning with the same syllable.

h. The improper division or union of words, arising chiefly from the ancient method of writing.

i. Improper interpunction.

11. That reading which has the appearance of being a gloss or explanation, is to be rejected.

These explanations consist sometimes of single words, and sometimes of entire passages. The sources of them are various ; they are sometimes connected with the genuine words, and sometimes they exclude them. It is not to be supposed, however, that every explanatory addition we find in the text, is to be rejected as spurious.

*Fischer.* Proll. de vitt. Lexx. N. T. p. 593. *Abresch.* Spec. III. Anim. in Ep. ad Hebr. p. 346.

*C. C. Tittman* Pr. de glossis N. T. æstimandis et judicandis. vit. 1782, 4.

12. Hence, also, those readings which have found their way into the text from versions, or from the comments of the ancient interpreters are to be rejected ; but in acting upon this rule, the greatest skill and caution are necessary.

II. *Higher Criticism.* Common laws.

1. That sentence or passage, that book or section, which, in its matter or style, is so foreign from the genius and manner of an author, as that it can scarcely be thought to have proceeded from him, ought to be reckoned spurious, or at least highly suspicious.

2. A passage, which is entirely at variance with the rest of the discourse, and interrupts the connexion, is to be considered an interpolation—see,

*Ferberg.* Spec. II. Animadverss. in loca selecta N. T. 1798.

3. Where the same, or nearly the same words, are

found in another part of the book, and suit the connexion of the discourse in that place, much better than in the passage under consideration, it is probable that they have crept in, and ought to be expunged.

4. Parts of books introduced where they seem to have no connexion with the matters treated of, but which contain clear evidence that they proceeded from the author, may, without impropriety, be so transposed, or arranged, as to render the order more consistent.

It has been inquired, whether there may not be some errors and interpolations in our Scriptures, older than any of our MSS. or historical monuments ;—and

Whether there be any propriety in making conjectural emendations of the SS.—See,

*Michaelis'* Introduction, vol. II.

*Paul. Joach. Sig. Vogel* Pr. de conjecturæ usu in crisi N. T., cui adjuncta est brevis Comm. de quarto libro *Estræ*. Altd. 1795, 4.

*W. Bowyer* conjectures on the N. T. 1763. 4.

*J. T. Krebs* *Vindiciæ quorundam locorum N. T. a Jo. Taupio male sollicitatorum* L. 1778. 4. II.

*H. C. A. Haenlein* *Examini curarum criticarum atque exegeticarum* *Gilb. Wakefield* in libros N. T. particulæ V. Erl. 1798—1802. 4.

*Schutz* *Vindiciæ locorum quorundam N. T. a Wakefieldo, qua critico qua interprete, tractatorum.* Jen. 1799.

II. It will easily be perceived, that the Laws of Criticism, peculiar to the N. T., must be derived, from the nature of the subjects treated of, from the character of the language in which it is written, and from the nature of those sources whence its various readings are derived.

They are principally the following :

1. Those passages which are inconsistent with the christian religion or history, or with the manner of the writer to whom they are attributed, or with the importance of the doctrine, or the dignity of the sacred teacher, are to be regarded as spurious. These points, however, are to be

judged of, according to the opinions and manner of writing prevalent in the times of the sacred penmen. On doctrinal points, especially, the greatest caution is to be used.

Attention also should be paid to the frauds sometimes committed, in interpolating and corrupting books from pious motives. On the other hand, passages may have been rejected as spurious when really genuine, from the impression that they were unworthy of the sacred writers.

2. That reading, which most nearly approaches the Hebrew or Syrochaldaic idiom, is for the most part to be preferred, to those in which the purely Greek idiom is preserved. Some of the N. T. authors, as Luke and Paul, however, wrote the Greek more in accordance with the classic writers.

The conjecture, that the sacred books, were written in Syrochaldaic, and that the ancient translators, may, in some instances, have erred, could apply to very few, if to any of the books of the N. T.

3. As the sacred writings were constantly used, both publicly and privately, and particular sections employed in the lessons for the church, it may have happened that changes arose from the parallel passages of the O. and N. T., or from the lectionaria.

4. Many MSS. versions, and early writers, are found almost uniformly, following the same reading. Those which belong to the same class, are not to be numbered separately, as independent witnesses, but taken collectively, as one testimony; much less are we to confide implicitly in any one MS., although it be ancient, and carefully written; nor, on the other hand, are the readings even of a modern and inferior MS., to be rejected without consideration.

5. In every reading, it is first of all, to be enquired, to which recension or class of MSS. it belongs.

The age and origin, therefore, not so much of the

MSS. as of the readings, are to be investigated, cf. *Seiler*, *Bibl. Herm.* p. 291.

No MS. is extant, which exhibits through all the books, any one recension, incorrupted. It is therefore, from the consent of many of the same class, and from internal criteria, that we are to judge, which recension, any particular reading is to be referred to. Some MSS. in different parts, follow different recensions. Very few copies belonging to the ancient classes, remain, those belonging to the more modern are much more numerous.

6. That reading, in which all the recensions concur, is to be regarded as genuine.

7. The readings of the most ancient classes, especially when recommended by other authority, are to be preferred.

8. The Alexandrian class is sometimes to be preferred to the western, but not uniformly. Where the different classes vary, the greatest attention must be paid to other historical and internal criteria of the genuineness of a passage.

9. The greatest authority is due to MSS., but the ancient versions, and the works of early ecclesiastical writers, are not to be neglected.

10. In collecting various readings from the ancient versions, and in estimating their importance the following rules should be observed.

a. The greatest weight is due to those made immediately from the Greek. Among these, the most important, are, the Latin, Syriac, and the Gothic.

b. Care must be taken that we use a correct copy of these versions.

c. It is to be observed, whether they are literal, or merely give the sense; whether the faults observed, be chargeable on the versions themselves, or appear to have arisen from the MSS. their authors used.

d. Versions, which, upon examination, appear to follow

a particular class or recension, of MSS. are to be ranked with that class as one witness.

e. No reading, which is derived from the ancient versions alone, and is destitute of other authority, is to be approved ; yet the concurrence of all the Versions and the ancient Fathers, renders the reading of the MSS. very suspicious.

11. As to the ancient ecclesiastical writers, the following rules should be observed.

a. We should be careful to use a critical and correct edition of their works, lest we be deceived by corrupted passages.

b. We must diligently attend to the character of these writers, their age, erudition, their discernment ; to their disposition to alter the text, &c. We should also endeavour to discover the character and class of the MSS. which they used.

c. It is carefully to be observed in what kind of works, these various readings occur. Whether in commentaries, in doctrinal, practical, or polemical compositions ; because quotations are commonly made in one class, much more accurately than in another.

d. The form and manner of the quotation are to be observed—whether the passage be cited pointedly, as a direct proof, or whether it be quoted memoriter—casually alluded to, &c.

It is not reasonable to dismiss all the quotations of the Fathers, with the assertion that they were made negligently, and from memory ; because, although this may often have been the case, yet in some instances there is internal evidence that the quotation was made with care, and that the writer really read in his MSS. what we now find in his works.

e. The mere omission of a passage, in the commentaries of the Fathers, is not sufficient evidence against it.



Yet if the passage be important, their silence renders it suspicious.

12. The writings of the ancient heretics, are not entirely to be neglected, in the criticism of the N. T.

13. That interpunction of the words and sentences, and that distinction of paragraphs and chapters, is to be observed, which best agrees with the subject, and the connexion of the discourse.

III. Since it is admitted, in the criticism of the N. T., as in that of other ancient writings, that the true reading, cannot always be determined with absolute certainty, but only a judgment as to what is most probable be formed, it is evident, that more should not be required, in this department, than can be performed—nor a positive judgment be given, without the most careful examination. And moreover, if in the criticism of profane authors caution and modesty should be used, much more should every thing like rashness, or levity, be excluded from the criticism of the Sacred Volume.

*Car. Segaar. or. de critice in divinis N. T. libris aequè ac in humanis, sed circumspecte et modeste etiamnum exercenda. Ultraj. 1772. 4.*

Several circumstances conspire to render the criticism of the N. T. peculiarly difficult—the peculiarity of the mode of writing, the number of the books, and the danger of alteration from various causes to which they were exposed.

That division of the *higher criticism*, which relates to the excellences or faults of books—the narration, mode of argument, and the subject generally, will be treated hereafter.



## SECTION IV.

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### RULES OF INTERPRETATION FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. There can be but one interpretation of a passage, genuine and correct. And this interpretation must elicit that sense from the words of the author, which, upon grammatical and historical grounds, can be shown, should be attributed to them, and which clearly conveys to the reader, the idea of the writer. From this remark, it follows, that the interpreter must have a two-fold duty to perform; first, that he himself should properly understand the language, the ideas, and subject of his author; and secondly, that he should correctly exhibit or explain all these to others. Hence Hermeneutics may be divided into two parts.

*E. C. Westphal* de genuina SS. interpretatione in Meditatt. phil. et theol. argumenti. L. 1790. 8.

*S. F. Winterberg* Prol. de interpretatione unica, unica et certæ persuasionis de doctrinæ religionis veritate, et amicæ consensionis causa, in Commentt. theol. edd. a Velthusen. Kühnöl. et Rup. T. IV.

*J. A. Grosch* d. de hermeneutice in omnibus disciplinis una eademque. Jen. 1756.

Sense is spoken of as certain, or doubtful; proper or improper; grammatical; historical. Other divisions, which are not of much advantage, are mediate and immediate; the mystical, allegorical, typical, parabolical, moral; natural, spiritual, supernatural, &c.

*B. Groddeck* d. de sensu Scr. S. Dant. 1752.

II. That the interpreter should properly perform

both the offices specified above, it becomes him to approach his work, with a mind, not only imbued with the knowledge of the Greek and Eastern languages—of history and the laws of interpretation—with sound judgment and discernment—but he must avail himself of every subsidiary aid ; he must prosecute his work with diligence, accuracy and caution, and pursue his investigations, uninfluenced, either by his own previous opinions, or the opinions of others—and he must above all cherish a candid and pious state of feeling. It is necessary, therefore, that he should know, in the first place, both the primary and secondary meaning of words—and secondly, the peculiar mode of writing, which distinguishes the N. T. authors—he should be able to decide how the true sense, is to be discovered, and understand the method of arguing and constructing their discourses, characteristic of the sacred writers.

*J. F. Fischeri* Prol. de linguæ gr. interiore scientia, interpretationis librorum N. T. adjumento maxime necessario. L. 1772.

*C. G. Thalemani* d. de sensu veri et falsi in interpret. librorum sacrorum L. 1776. 4.

*J. C. Velthusen* Pr. quo sensus veri et falsi commendatur monumenta religionis rite æstimaturis. Adjectæ sunt animadverss. criticæ potissimum ad archæologiam sacram, Helmst. 1781. 4.

*Chr. Ben. Michaelis* Diss. de modestia exegetica. Hal. 1751. 4.

*Chr. Theoph. Kuinoel* d. de subtilitate interpretationem grammaticam commendante. L. 1788. 4.

Subtilitatem interpretis N. T. in verborum notionibus ex contexta oratione definiendis commendat. *J. Guil. Fuhrmann.* Kil. 1778. 4.

*Chr. Gfr. Richteri* d. de libertate interpretandorum librorum divv. et doctrinæ publicæ examinandæ admodum utili. Hal. 1783. 4.

*J. B. Riederer* d. de usu ingenii in interpretanda, SS. Alt. 1753. 4.

*Chr. Fr. Roederer* Comm. de ingenii usu et abusu circa interpretationem Scr. S. Torg. 1741.

*J. H. Noeltig* d. de artis imaginandi ad SS. applicatione, Jen. 1758. 4.

*J. Ge. Albrecht* Pr. de interpretatione sacr. litt. vitio affectuum corrupta, Frf. ad m. 1747. 4.

*S. F. N. Mori* d. de discrimine sensus et significationis in interpretando. L. 1774. et in ejus diss. theol. et philoll. T. I.

Some have distinguished the qualifications of an interpreter of the N. T. into natural, acquired by human means ; and moral, derived from Divine assistance. See,

*Carpzovii* Primæ lineæ herm. p. 10. ss.

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## PART I.

### RULES AND HELPS FOR PROPERLY UNDESTANDING THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS.

I. It is evident, that the first duty of an interpreter, is to investigate the signification of words, both singly and in their combinations. Here it should be kept in mind, that some words are used *properly*, others *improperly* ; some simply, others emphatically ; some according to the usage of common life, others in a sense peculiar to the christian system. Therefore, the rules for investigating the signification of words, are either common and universal, or such as are applicable only to the language of the Sacred Writers.

I. The signification of single words, in a dead language, is to be learned,

a. In some instances, from the natural connexion between the word, and signification, ὀνομασποιοητικά.

b. From etymology ; great caution, however, is requisite, in acting upon this rule, as the primary significa-

tion of a word, is frequently very different from its common meaning.

c. From analogy, as well of the language in question, as of others related to it.

d. From the usage of those writers, to whom the language was vernacular, or who lived during the period in which it was spoken.

e. From the explanations which the authors themselves, sometimes annex to the words they use.

f. From parallel passages, in which the same idea is expressed, either in different words, or more at length.

g. From the immediate context, where the word occurs.

h. From the design and subject of the writer.

i. From ancient translations.

k. From the grammatical remarks, the scholia, and glossaries of the ancients.

In these, are to be found especially, words of peculiar difficulty, words ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, πολίσθημα, *barbarous*, *synonymous*, &c.

The significations of words, were at first simple, but gradually enlarging, the same word came to have various meanings, and numerous accessory ideas became connected with the primary signification.

These various significations should be reduced to their natural order, and not be unduly multiplied, as has been done by some Lexicographers—see,

*S. F. N. Mori* d. de nexu significationum ejusdem verbi. L. 1776. et in Diss. theoll. et phil. T. I. p. 394.

2. The signification of words in combination, or of phrases, may be, in general, learned,

a. From the nature of the combination, or connexion itself. It is, however, frequently the case, that usage has attached a different idea to a particular phrase; from that, which its composition would seem to indicate.

b. From the direct or indirect testimony of writers.

3. The signification of words and phrases, in the writings of the N. T., is to be particularly sought,

a. From the usage of the Greek language, as it existed after the time of Alexander the Great. And this usage may be learned from the fragments which remain of the dramatic writers of that period; from the works of Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, and others of the same age.

b. From the Hebrew or Syrochaldaic, whence, in some instances, words have been derived, and in others, used in senses conformed to the Hebrew usage.

*Mart. Pet. Cheitomaei* Græco. barbara N. T. quæ orienti originem debent. Amst. 1649.

To this purpose, the books of the O. T., the Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, and works in the Syriac, Arabic, &c. have been advantageously applied. See,

*Michaelis'* Introduction, VI. *Haenlein* Einl. I. *Ammon.* ad Ern. Inst. Int. p. 67. The works of *Forstius* and *Leusden* quoted above, and *J. G. Herder* Erläuterungen zum N. T. aus einer neu eröffneten oriental. Quelle, 1775. 4.

c. From the style of those Jews, who, during this period used the Greek language. The Greek versions of the O. T., the apocryphal books, and the works of Josephus and Philo, are particularly worthy of attention.

*Chr. Fr. Schmidt.* Diss. II. versionem Alex. optimum interpretationis, LL. SS. presidium esse, L. 1763. 4.

*J. F. Fischeri* Proluss. de verss. græcis litterarum hebr. magistris, L. 1772. 8.

*G. J. Henkii* d. de usu librorum apoc. V. T. in N. T. Hal. 1711.

b. From the character of the christian system, whence certain words derived a signification more or less extensive, which they retained constantly or only under peculiar circumstances.

That this may be properly understood, the *usus loquen-*

*di* of the O. T., and of the later Jews, and the history of the opinions which then prevailed, must be attended to. The usage, also, of the N. T. writers themselves, the comparison of perspicuous with difficult expressions, and the history of early christian opinions, serve to elucidate the force of expressions of peculiar import, in the N. T.

Examples of this class of words and phrases, are εὐαγγέλιον; βασιλεία τῶν ἑρανῶν; παρυσία χρυσῆ (see *D. Flatt Symbolarum ad illustranda nonnulla ex iis N. T. locis, quæ de παρυσία Chr. agunt, Partic. I. Tub. 1801. 4*) υἱὸς τῆ θεῆ, υἱὸς τῆ ἀνθρώπου, νόμος (see *P. N. Jochims de variis τῆ νόμου signif. in epp. Paulinis obviis, Meldorp. 1788.*) πιστις (*N. Reden d. præ. Wallenio de varia signif. voc. πισεως in N. T. 1802.*) ἔργα, δικαιοσύνη, ἀφῆσις ἀμαρτιῶν; παλιγγενεσία; πνεῦμα (see *J. F. Schleusner, d. de vocabuli πνευμα in Libris N. T. vario usu Gött. 1791, 4. Griesbach. Commentt. de vera notione vocabuli πνευμα in cap. VIII. Ep. ad Romanos, Jenæ editis.*) σὰρξ *Tho. Stuemmer Tentamen exeg. crit. circa quæstionem: quæ significandi vis vocabb. πνευμα et σαρξ in stilo Paulino insit? Wirceb. 1802.* See also *Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations.* To discover the meaning of such expressions, the connexion of the discourse is of great importance.

II. The tropical signification of words and phrases, in the New Testament, has, in part, the same sources, and is regulated by the same principles, as among other people and other authors; and in part, is derived from sources, and rests on principles, peculiar to the Sacred Writers. The duty of the interpreter, in accurately investigating, and properly explaining the figurative language of the New Testament, is derived from these considerations, and he may also hence discover the faults to be avoided.



*Fr. W. Mascho* Unterricht von den Bibl.—Tropen und Figuren—Halle 1773. 8.

*Job. Gf. Hegelmaier* Libri III. de dictione tropica etiam Scr. Sacræ. Tub. 1779. 8.

Tropes are either necessary, arising from the poverty of language, and the magnitude of the subject treated, or they are used for the sake of varying and ornamenting the style. They are grammatical, or rhetorical; general, or appropriate to particular kinds of writing.

They rest upon similitude, or the various connexions and relations of things.

Metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and anthropopeia may be separately treated.

The sources of tropes in the New Testament are, a. nature itself, b. common life, c. history, d. the Sacred Writings of the Jews.

1. Tropical expressions, are derived from either of these sources, especially the last, and may be discovered,

a. From the nature and character of the subject, sentiment, or expression.

b. From the series of the discourse, and from certain words, frequently added for the sake of illustration.

c. From the nature and design of the discourse, or argument.

d. From parallel passages, where the same subject, or idea, may be literally expressed.

e. From the *usus loquendi* and history.

f. From the connexion of the doctrine itself.

2. In explaining the foundation of the similitude, we must endeavour, in the first place, so to represent it, that it may agree with the genius of the East; and secondly, to have respect, not only to general usage, but also to the particular passage, in which the trope occurs; so that the full force of the figure may be perceived.

3. The cautions necessary to be observed on this subject, are, that we do not press the etymology of the tropi-



cal word too far—that we do not too much extend the force of the figure—nor seek in it more than the nature of the passage will admit—and that we do not unnecessarily multiply tropes.

III. Some words and phrases are either constantly, or occasionally used in such a manner, that, to the idea which is commonly and properly attached to them, there is added something of enlargement, of weight, or sublimity; or on the other hand, their usual force is diminished. The more frequently writers have run into extravagance in interpreting these emphatical expressions, in former times; the more careful should we be to observe moderation. The same remark is applicable to *Euphemism*.

*J. Chr. Gottleberi* d. præ. Nagelio de emphasisium judicandarum difficultate, Alt. 1761. 4.

*E. A. Frommann* Comm. de verbis N. T. quæ plus aut minus, quam ordinariæ solent, interdum significant, opusec. phil. I, 342. ss.

Emphasis was formerly divided into *real* and *verbal*. *Constant* emphasis is to be learned, from the direct testimony of authors, or from the constant usage of the language, during a particular age; *temporary* emphasis, is generally to be learned from the context, or from the nature of the subject.

There are forms of speech, which have, by common consent, lost that energy which originally and naturally belonged to them.

We should be cautious not to consider words emphatical, merely because they are of rare occurrence, derived from a foreign language, figurative, or different in their grammatical form, from the languages, ancient or modern, with which we may happen to be acquainted.

On Euphemism—see,

*Chr. Wollii* d. de usu et abusu euphemismi sacri I. 1732. 4.

It is always to be judged of, from the character of the age and people—not from our own taste or opinion.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ON DISCOVERING THE USUS LOQUENDI OF THE SACRED WRITINGS.

I. The *usus loquendi*, is the manner of speaking or writing, which custom, or common usage has sanctioned. It is evident, therefore, that it must be very various, and different in different kinds of writers. We need not be surprized that there should be a mode of writing peculiar to the N. T., and that this mode, should not be the same in all the Sacred Writings. The sources of information are either external or internal, and are very similar to those mentioned in the preceding chapter.

The *usus loquendi*, is *national or provincial, public or private, religious or profane, ancient or recent; solemn, technical, or common; poetical or prosaic; philosophical, doctrinal, or historical; epistolary or popular.*

The interpreter should always be careful, not to be guided by the suggestions of his own imagination, or inclination, but should attend to the *usus loquendi*.

The internal means of discovering the *usus loquendi*, are,

1. The genius and character of the writers.

These are formed, through the influence of the age and nation to which they belong, by their education, method of life, &c. These points are to be ascertained from the history of the writers themselves, and of the times in which they lived, and from their writings.

2. The nature of the subject, and the mode of treating it.

Every subject has a method, in some measure its own; and authors are either original in their style and manner, or imitators of other writers. When this latter is the case, the style of their models should be investigated and understood by the interpreter.

3. The writings themselves, which the authors have left; for it not unfrequently happens, that writers define, explain, or illustrate their method of writing.

All the foregoing remarks may be applied to the New Testament.

The external means of discovering the *usus loquendi*, are, the knowledge of the history, both of opinions and facts, of the period to which the writer belongs, the comparison of authors of the same kind, character, and age; the use of competent early translators, and the observance of that usage which approaches most nearly to that of the writers in question.

Some observations on the *usus loquendi*, of the *popular* Greek writers.

1. They do not accurately follow grammatical rules, concerning the distinction of words, the use of the article, the middle voice, the moods and tenses of verbs, &c. Hence their language is not always to be interpreted in strict accordance with these rules.

Ammonius de adfinium vocabb. differentiâ Cum animadverss. L. C. Valckenaer L. B. 1739. II. 4. c. obs. *Cph. Fr. Ammon.* Erl. 1787. 8.

S. F. Dresigii Commentarius de verbis mediis N. T. cura J. F. Fischeri etc. Ed. altera, L. 1792.

*Cph. Wollii* Collectio quartior de verbis Græcorum mediis dissertationum L. 1733.

*Adr. Klüt* Vindicæ articuli ὁ ἡ τοῦ in N. T. Partis prioris T. I—III. posterioris T. I. II. Trag. 1786—1771—8.

The dispute is principally about the words ὁ κυριος, ὁ θεος and θεος.

In the moods and tenses of verbs, the Sacred Writers not unfrequently, follow the usage of the Hebrew; hence

the aorist and the preterite, are sometimes put in place of the future.

2. They sometimes express simply and universally, what is to be understood with limitation. These remarks are also applicable to the writings of the New Testament.

It has been questioned how far the *analogy of faith*, may be used as a rule of interpretation.

*G. Fr. Schroeteri.* d. de interpretatione, Scr. S. ad analogiam fidei. Vit. 1718. 4.

*Rambach.* Institutiones hermeneuticæ, II, 1.

II. In the use of certain figures, the writers of the N. T. as also other ancient writers, have a distinct style. Some of these figures affect only single words, sentences, or phrases; others, whole passages, and entire discourses; to which last, must be referred, *allegories* and *parables*. As in the right explication of these, the usage of the Orientals and the Jewish Doctors is chiefly to be regarded; so we should be very careful not to give any other explanation than that which the nature of the subject and design of the author require.

*Joach, Camerarii* Notatio figurarum sermonis in libris Evang. Lips. 1552. 4. in apostolicis scriptis ib. 1572. 4. uterque lib. in Bezae ed. N. T.

*C. L. Baueri* Philologia Thucedideo—Paulina S. Notatio figurarum dictionis Paulinae eum Thucydidea comparatae, Hal. 1792. 8. inprimisque eiusd. Rhetor. Paulinae, T. II. p. 511. ss.

There has been some dispute as to the use of *irony*.

*J. C. S.* Ironia a Jesu et discipulis eius abjudicata, Misc. Lips. nov. 1, p. 31. ss.

*J. Fr. Stiebriz* d. de ironia sacra. Hal. 1759. 4.

*Goth. Beni, Matthesii* Comm. de symbolico docendi genere in sacris ser. obvio. Schneeb. 1787, 4.

On Allegories,

Scriptt. plures de ea laudat *Blankenburg*, ad Sulzeri Theor. Art. 1, p. 57. ss. 71. ss.

*S. F. N. Mori* Pr. Ostenditur quibus causis allegoriarum interpretatio nitatur. L. 1781. et in Diss. Theol. atque phil. I, p. 390.

1. The object of the allegory, is to be sought in the occasion which gave rise to it (Joh. IV. 10. ss.) in the context, or in the explanation which is sometimes added. (Joh. VIII, 38. Eph. VI, 14. ss.)

2. It is to be observed, what is the primary object in every allegory, and how this object may be literally expressed.

3. The nature of the subject should be attended to, that the propriety of the allegory may be perceived.

4. We must examine the history, (Luke, XII, 49,) and the manners and customs of the East. There are many allegories which are characteristically oriental.

5. In the same allegory, one part is not to be understood literally, and another figuratively.

6. In no case, is every circumstance in the allegory to be considered, significative of a moral sense, but, the main idea, or principal design, is, in general, only to be regarded.

*Conr. Ikenü* d. de locutionibus allegoricis et emblematicis sæpe in generali complexu sumendis, neque ad singulas partes aut verba semper extendendis, in Diss. ejus. phil. theol. p. 593. ss.

On the nature, kinds, and use of *Parables*, see,

*G. C. Storr* Comm. ne parabolis Christi, 1779, et opuscul. acad. ad interpret. SS. I, p. 89. ss.

*J. J. Hess* über die Parabeln mit Rücksicht auf Lehre vom Reiche Gottes, in his work, über die Lehren, Thaten und Schicksale des Herrn, ein Anhang zur Lebensgesch. p. 175. ss.

Ueber die Lokalität der Parabeln Jesu, in d. Beytr. z. Bef. d. vern. Denk. in der Rel. XI, p. 138.

*G. L. Bauer* Sammlung und Erklärung der parabol. Erzählungen unsers Herrn, L. 1782, 8.

Lectures on the Parables of our Saviour, with a preliminary discourse on Parables, by *Andrew Gray*.

In parables, the primary parts, are to be carefully distinguished from those, which are merely accessory ; lit-



ral and tropical explanations are not to be mixed ; the interpretation is to be sought from the design, from the occasion, from the circumstances of time and place, from the character of the hearers, and from the explanations often added.

III. In *proverbs* and *aphorisms*, there is often something peculiar in the use of words. The Oriental style, with regard to both classes, is to be carefully regarded ; and attention paid to the circumstances under which they were uttered, and the design they were intended to answer, that neither greater nor less force be attributed to them, than the nature of the case requires.

1. As it regards proverbs, it may be remarked that the Orientals,

a. Drew their images from the heavens, or from nature generally, as it is exhibited to them, and it is from these, their proverbial expressions are derived.

b. They are peculiarly fond of the hyperbolical and enigmatical style.

c. When their proverbs rest upon a comparison, the comparison is not fully stated.

*Mart. del Rib* Adagialia Sacra vet. et Novi Test: Lugd. 1614, 4.

*Andr. Schotti* Adagialia Sacra N. Test. græcolatina—Antw. 1629. 4.

*J. Vorstii* Diatribe de Adagiis N. T. repetita in *Fischeri* edit. Philologie S. Vorstii, p. 745. et *Leusdeni* lib. de Dialect. N. T. ed. 2. p. 169.

In the explanation of these proverbs, reference is constantly to be had, to the nature and design of the passage.

2. The characteristic features of the Aphoristic style, are,

a. Brevity and ambiguity of expression ; at times assuming the form of the enigma.

b. A manner ingenious and pointed.

c. A want of close connexion, in the different sentences.

*Ulr. Andr. Rohde* de vet. poetarum sapientia gnomica Hebræorum imprimis et Græcorum, Havn. 1800 8. Consult, also, the writers upon our Saviour's sermon on the mount, particularly *Pott*.

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## CHAPTER III.

### ON INVESTIGATING THE SENSE OF PASSAGES.

I. As it is requisite for the interpreter to observe which signification of a word suits a particular passage, and what usage prevails through the book he is investigating; so, also, he must endeavour to discover the *sense* (which is to be distinguished from the *signification*,) which belongs to each word, and to the whole expression or sentence; and this sense or meaning may either be uniformly attached to the words or phrases agreeably to Hebrew usage, or it may belong to them only, in particular places.

1. The choice of signification, depends principally upon the context.

2. The *usus loquendi* which prevails in a particular passage, is determined, either from the context, or from the nature of the subject, or of the language.

The phraseology which is derived from the Grecian usage, is to be distinguished from that which is of Hebrew, or Syro-chaldaic origin.

3. To discover the sense of words, or sentences, is to discover the idea which the author really intended to attach to them, in the connexion in which they occur. For the signification of a word or sentence, may be variously modified by the circumstances in which it is used—see,

*Mori* diss. de discrimine sensus et significationis in interpretando—and, *Eichstadt* ad *Mori* Hermeneuticam.



4. The sense which belongs to particular words or expressions, is either always the same as in the phrase καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν θεῶν or it is different in different places, as in the words πνευματικὸς σαρκικὸς.

Care, therefore, is to be taken, not to confound the sense and the signification.

II. The means of discovering the meaning of a passage, are not only the nature of the language, the customary usage, and sound judgment ; but also, the context, the design of the writer, the nature of the subject, and history ; hence the *grammatical*, *logical*, and *historical* sense is spoken of separately. It may be well to make these distinctions in scholastic disputations, but in the work of interpretation, there is to be but one sense sought, which is to be discovered by these three several methods, and which does not admit of variety. Rules are derived from these helps for properly determining the meaning ; and arguments, to prove that a certain sense is the only proper sense of a passage.

What has been just remarked amounts to this : that it should be our object, to discover, not merely what sense may or may not be attributed to a particular passage, but what sense we are bound to attribute to it.

1. To the language belongs the *analogy* of language ; whether of one, or more, or all languages. This subject will be considered hereafter.

2. The *usus loquendi*, determines what sense is usually connected with certain words and phrases in a particular place, time, or among a particular people, or in reference to a particular subject.

3. The *usus loquendi* will not always suffice to determine the sense, because, a. it is sometimes obscure, b. it

cannot always be ascertained, c. it is often indefinite and πολύσημος, d. the writer himself often recedes from it. Yet it is always to be joined with other means of ascertaining the sense.

4. It is important to remark, that there is a certain common sense, or mode of thinking, feeling, judging, and speaking, which belongs to every community, and which may be learned from the character and mental habits of the people. It is evident that the knowledge of this kind of common sentiment of a people, must throw great light upon the meaning of their expressions.—See,

Turretin de Interpretatione Scripturæ Sacræ, p. 249. and below, chap. 6.

5. The context is either continued or interrupted; the former is immediate, or more or less remote.

In the *immediate* context, is to be considered, a. the mutual relation of subject and attribute, and in considering this point it must be observed whether the expression be figurative or not, b. the connexion between epithets and the words to which they are applied, c. the relation of the cases, d. the use of the prepositions, conjunctions, and other particles, e. the definitions added by the author, f. the opposition of the different members of the sentence.

The *less remote* context, is the series and relation of several united propositions. This connexion is perceived by the use of the conjunctions. In many discourses, however, the several propositions are disconnected.

The *more remote* context is the connexion of all the several parts of the passage—which is perceived, from the character, the subjects, and sentences, and from the mode in which the connexion is effected.

On the *interrupted* context, see the following chapter.

We must be careful not to be deceived, by the present interpunction, or division into greater or lesser sections.

This subject, however, belongs more properly to criticism—  
See,

*Abresch. Spec. Anim. in Ep. ad Hebr. III, p. 398.*

The helps hitherto enumerated, have reference to the *grammatical* sense.

6. The sense in which particular expressions are to be understood, is very often decided by the design, of the author in the whole book, or in any particular portion of it. This design is more or less clearly indicated by the author himself, or it may be gathered from the occasion of his writing, from history, or from a careful examination of the books or passages themselves. The design, however, cannot always be determined with equal clearness.

7. The nature of the subject and opinions or ideas, frequently indicates, that a certain sense may, and often that it must, be attributed to the words of the author. And the logical connexion of his propositions also serves to shew in what way he wishes to be understood.

In examining the nature of the subject and ideas, with the view of determining the sense, it is to be observed, whether the passage under examination is expressed in popular or in philosophical language. The connexion of the several parts of a discourse, or of an entire work, is not always as strict as in the present regular and systematic method of writing. Frequently nothing more than probability as to the connexion can be attained.

These remarks belong to the *logical* sense.

8. The sense in which an author's words are to be taken, may often be learned, from the history of the time and place in which he lived and wrote, from the opinions, studies, manners, customs, and mode of teaching, then prevalent; from the occasion on which he wrote, from the character of those to whom his writings were addressed, from the historical events of his age, and from similar sources.

*Turretin* de Interpretatione SS. p. 371.

*Keil* Prog. quoted above, and *Bauer*. Herm. 97.

The interpreter, therefore, should be well acquainted with, and frequently consult,

a. The civil history of the Jews and Romans of that period, and also geography and chronology.

b. The manners and customs of the Jews, and other Oriental nations, (archæology, derived from pure and ancient sources.)

*F. Stosch* Compendium archæologiæ æconomicæ N. T., Lips. 1799. 8.

c. The various sects which existed among the Jews, the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

*Stuedlin*. Gesch. d. Sittenl. Jesu I, p. 420. ss. 570.

*E. Bengel* Bemerkungen über den Versuch das Christ. aus dem Essaismus abzuleiten.

*D. Platt* Magazin f. Chr. Dogm. VII, p. 4.

### The Samaritans.

*Bruns* über die Samariten.

*Stuedlin*. Beitr. z. Philos. Gesch. d. Rel. I, p. 78. ss.

### The Sabæins, that is, the disciples of John.

*Michaelis* Introd. II, 1140. ss.

*Norberg* Comm. de rel. et lingua Sabæorum in Commentatt. Soc. Gött. T. III.

*Walch* de Sabæis ib. T. IV.—*Bruns* über die Johannis Christen nach Abraham Echellensis, in Paulus Memor. III, 51. ss.

*Th. C. Tychsen* über die Religions Schriften der Sabier oder Johannischristen.

*Stuedlin*. Beytr. II, 289. ss. III, 1. ss. V, 208. ss. 236. ss.

*Augusti* Introd. ad vers. epp. catholicarum Part. I. 1801.

d. The opinions, laws, philosophy and expectations of the Jews, arising out of their religion and their peculiar circumstances. The requisite information upon these subjects, is to be obtained from the apocryphal writings of the Jews and Christians, from Philo, Josephus, the late Jewish writers, and from our own Sacred Scriptures.

*J. E. C. Schmidt* Bibl. für Kritik und Exeg. des N. Test. und älteste Christengesch. I. Band, 1787, II. B.

Beiträge zur histor. Interpretation des N. Test. aus den damals herrschenden Zeitbegriffen. von *Otmar* dem zweyten, Henke Neues Mag. III, 201. ss. IV. 23. ss.

On the books whence the opinions, and forms of expression, prevalent during the age in which our Saviour appeared, and in that part of the world, may be most advantageously learned—see,

*Gurlitt* Spec. II. Anima divers. in auct. vett. p. 22.

e. The method adopted by the Jewish doctors, in their instructions.

*Gu. Chr. G. Weise* diss. de more domini acceptos a magistris Judd. loquendi ac discreendi modos sapienter emendandi, Vit. 1792, and in the Comment. Theoll. edd. a *Velthusen*, &c. V, p. 117. ss.

f. The natural history of Palestine and the adjacent countries.

*J. W. Drasdo* Pr. de justa rerum naturæ scientiæ sanctoris disciplinæ cultoribus utilissima, Vit. 1788.

*A. Fr. Michaelis* d. de studio hist. nat. præstantissimo theol. tractandæ discendæque adjuncte. Vit. 1790.

*Cph. Fr. Jacobi* d. de physica, sacrorum librorum interpretationis administra, Hal. 1746. 4.

g. Those circumstances of a historical character, which relate to the book we wish to examine. As for example; its author; the person who is introduced as speaking (Rom. VII); what his character and circumstances were, and what his state of mind, as exhibited in the passage under consideration; with what design, upon what occasion, at what time, in what place, and with what feelings the author wrote; what person he sustained, his own, or that of others; (Rom. VII, 7. ss.) to whom he wrote or spake. As to this last point, we must not place much confidence in the subscriptions at the close of many of the epistles, but must appeal to better authority, and especially to the indications to be observed in the book itself.



*Baumgarten*. Unterricht, 3. Hauptst. von den. histor. Umständen Sect: 36. ss.

*Chr. Theoph. Zeizeri* Epist. ad Maur. Gu. Schelsier, Zwiecae. 1782.

*Jr. Fr. Reuss* resp. *Plank* d. theol. de canone hermen. quo scripturam per scripturam interpretari jubemur. Tub. 1774. 4.

Thus much belongs to the means of determining the *historical sense*. All the means, however, which have been here enumerated, are to be united, to discover the *true sense of a passage*, and this sense is one. For the *allegorical* sense should be referred, to the grammatical, the *mystical*, (if such a sense be admitted) to the historical, the *moral* or practical to the explanation rather than the interpretation of the true sense.

1. Negative rules.

a. No sense should be admitted, which is plainly at variance with the *usus loquendi*.

b. A sense, inconsistent with the nature of the subject cannot be correct.

c. A frigid sense, or one foreign to the design of the author, should be rejected.

d. A sense, which contradicts the series of the discourse, is not to be attributed to the words.

2. Positive rules.

a. The sense, which is indicated by all the sources of information already pointed out, or by the greater part of them, is alone correct.

b. The sense, which is supported by parallel passages, is to be preferred to every other.

III. Particular care will be requisite, in determining the sense, in those cases in which more than usual copiousness or brevity is employed. In either case, however, it will be of great assistance, to observe with diligence, the familiar and customary phraseology of the author. Although there may be considerable obscurity, yet that sense, which ap-

pears the most probable, from the author's design, or from other sources, should be maintained.

1. In those cases, in which there is more than usual copiousness, it will be necessary to separate, what relates to the principal idea, from what is added, for the sake of amplification, illustration, or ornament. To these latter, it is evident no peculiar force is to be attributed.

Every word, especially in comparisons, similes, repetitions, rhetorical expressions, is not to be urged too far.

2. Brevity, has respect either to single words or the style generally. In the first case, many ideas are comprehended in one word, (*pregnantia verba*;) in the second, something is left to be supplied by the reader, which the nature of the subject, and common usage, it is presumed will suggest.

At times ideas seem to be omitted, where the particle *γὰρ* does not very closely connect the two sentences. Act. II. 34. The Sacred Writers adopted a very sententious and brief style, in their discourses, arguments, and sometimes even in their narrations.

3. In difficult passages, we must

a. Endeavour to discover the precise point where the difficulty lies.

b. We must observe what sense the passage will not bear.

c. The causes of the ambiguity or obscurity, we should endeavour to remove.

d. We must examine what sense is rendered most probable, from the *usus loquendi*, from the design of the writer, from his state of mind, from the context, from history.



## CHAPTER IV.

ON THE METHOD OF CONSTRUCTING THEIR DISCOURSES PECULIAR TO THE SACRED WRITERS.

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I. From the character and design of the Sacred Writers, it is evident, that every thing like refinement and subtlety would be banished from their writings, and that a peculiarity of construction, and simplicity of diction, conformable to the Jewish manner of writing, would characterize their compositions. Besides this general character common to them all, each of the inspired penmen has his own manner, which is to be learned by careful attention. From these remarks, it will appear, what rules, as it regards this point, the interpreter ought to observe.

What is here said is not intended as inconsistent with the *acuteness* and *terseness* ascribed to the Sacred Writers, especially St. Paul.

*J. W. Fuhrmann* Comm. de concinnitate Pauli in Ep. ad Rom. L. 1776.  
*Ejusd.* Comm. de subtilitate Pauli in argumentis tractandis, L. 1777.

The peculiarity or novelty, as to the structure of their sentences, is to be traced to their familiarity with the Hebrew language, and therefore should not be regarded as authorizing any unusual sense of words. *Fischer* Proluss. de Vit Lex. P. 410 ss.

The simplicity of style observable in their narration, mode of teaching, disputing, and arguing, relates not only to the use, of certain phrases, of numerous finite verbs, and of conjunctive particles, but in the whole form of their periods, and mode of expression. Different subjects, have each their influence on this general character of style.

1. The structure of the language in the N. T. is to be understood, from the familiar method of instruction, conversation and writing.

2. For this purpose it will be highly expedient to examine the Eastern and especially the Hebrew method of narration, instruction, and composition.

3. We must observe what is peculiar to each author, in his method, of constructing his discourse.

4. The peculiar kind of writing, (poetic, prosaic, aphoristic, didactic, uniform or variable, polished, sublime,) deserves our attention, as the whole character of the composition depends upon this circumstance.

II. The most important characteristics of the Sacred Writers as to the general structure of their discourses, are, 1. The connexion is not always obvious and continued but is frequently broken and abrupt. 2. Additions are frequently made which do not appear essential to the expression of the sentiment. 3. And in other cases the construction is elliptical. 4. They are not always exact in the grammatical structure of their sentences.

1. The interruptions in their discourses.

a. From *digression*, when the writer passes from one subject, to others connected with it, sometimes not returning to his original point at all, and at others, not for a considerable time. The occasion of these digressions, is sometimes in the ideas themselves, at others in the words; or it is furnished by the circumstances of the case, the time or place, the state of feeling in the writer or reader. Gal. IV, 24; Hebr V, 2; Joh. VI, 32.

b. By *parenthesis*, which is longer or shorter, and at times one parenthesis arises out of another.

*Cph. Wollii* Comm. philol. de parenthesi s. præf. præmisit, C. F. Boenerus, Lips. 1726. 4.

*Ad. Bened. Spizneri* Comm. theol. de parenthesi libris sacris V. et N. T. accommodata, L. 1772. 8.

Both digressions and parentheses may be discovered, a. from the nature and series of the ideas, b. the character of the discourse, and the use of the particles, especially the conjunctions.

We must not always expect to find the discourse constructed according to the rules of art, nor proceeding in an unbroken order.

2. The abrupt construction, is when excitement of feeling, or any other cause, induces the writer either to suppress something (*ἀποσιώπησις*,) or suddenly to pass to a different subject. In the historical books, and in the writings of St. Paul, there are various examples of this kind. It is obvious, that in such cases, we are not to look for a continued narration or argument.

3. *Pleonasm* is either of single words, as when to verbs signifying action, the member of the body by which the action is performed is added; of pronouns (*αὐτός* after *ἔς*,) of particles—of phrases (as *ἐπάρας τῆς ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀνοίξας τὸ σῶμα*) or of whole sentences. In these instances, some are peculiar to the East, others common to all popular discourses.

4. *Tautology* is where the same idea is expressed by various synonymous words or phrases.

It is clear that we should not endeavour to explain as different, expressions intended to convey the same idea.

*Jo. Fr. Kluge* Doctrinæ de tautologiis ad vindicandos scriptores sacros, et profanos Specimen. Vit. 1760. 4.

5. *Ellipsis* is either *grammatical* or *rhetorical*, *constant* or *temporary*. It is either of single words, or of sentences.

Some writers have, very unreasonably, multiplied ellipses, and others have entirely proscribed their application

to the interpretation of the Scriptures. To the first class belongs *Lamb. Bos*, see his work on the Greek Ellipses. It is, therefore, the more necessary, that attention should be paid to this subject.

a. No ellipsis should be admitted which is not confirmed, by constant or frequent usage.

b. The character of the passage ought to give evidence, from the mode of construction, from the state of feeling in the writer, from the nature of his subject, or disposition of his readers, that the occurrence of an ellipsis, is not unlikely. This occurrence is to be looked for when the discourse is vehement, or negligent.

c. There should be good reason assigned for the admission in every instance.

d. The more obviously and easily the ellipsis can be supplied, the more probable it is that an ellipsis should really be acknowledged.

e. What is stated fully in some places, may be expressed more briefly in others, so as to render it obvious, that the latter expression is elliptical. Thus of our Saviour, it is sometimes said, ἐρχεσθαι, an elliptical form of ἐρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

*J. A. Wolfi* Comm. I. et II. de agnitione ellipseos in interpretatione librorum, SS. L. 1800. 4.

*Chr. Bruenings* libellus de silentio SS. sive de iis. quæ in verbo divino ommissa aut præterita vel sunt vel videntur. Adjectæ sunt in calce dissertatt. aliquot affinis argumenti, Frf. 1750. 8.

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## CHAPTER V.

ON DISCOVERING THE GENERAL MEANING, AND UNDERSTANDING THE NARRATION OR ARGUMENT.

I. The meaning of passages, is to be distinguished from the meaning of the individual words, and is discovered, if after the sense of their several

constituent parts has been ascertained and accurately considered, it is perceived, what the writer intended by the whole, and what he wished his readers to understand.

The general meaning is sometimes expressed in few and short propositions, at other times, these propositions are numerous and more extended ; sometimes it is simple, at others it consists of various parts.

It is requisite for the interpreter,

1. Carefully to consider and compare, the several parts of which he has already ascertained the meaning, that he may see what constitutes the simple sense, and what is added for the sake of explanation, illustration, or ornament.

2. He should so examine the several parts of the general meaning, and so compare them among themselves, that he may understand which are primary and which are merely adjuncts.

3. He should not neglect any part, or expression, by which the extent, or force, of the sense is defined, limited, or increased.

4. He should diligently observe, which appear to partake of the character of familiar usage, and which bear the character and manner peculiar to the East.

5. He should also endeavour to observe the connexion between the several general ideas : in which it would be well for him to remember what we have already said regarding the context.

He will find it a profitable exercise, to analyse books, and larger sections, and reduce them to their several parts, remembering, however, that poetical and popular writers, are not to be subjected to the strict rules which writers of a different description have observed.

II. The mode of narration, adopted by the Sacred Writers, is remarkably simple, such as their

own character and that of those to whom they wrote, seemed to require. The interpreter, therefore, of the historical books, should not seek any thing artificial in their narrations; but should understand every thing in a manner consistent with the simplicity of their style.

*S. F. N. Mori* Defensio narrationum N. T. quoad modum narrandi, Opuscc. I, p. 1. ss.

1. Every thing is so narrated, a. as that the events and facts could be easily known and understood, b. those things which they commonly taught were delivered in a language to which they did not always attach the same ideas, c. their manner is marked by great brevity, d. it is not entirely destitute of ornament, but the ornament is of the simplest kind.

2. The interpreter must distinguish between the substance of the event or fact, and the account or exhibition of it.

3. Neither should the narration be confounded with the opinion, which the writer sometimes adds—see,

*Mori* Comm. qua illustratur locus Joh. XII, ss. Opuscc. II, p. 106. ss.

4. The interpreter is not at liberty, to add, to curtail, or in any way to change, the narration, although it may appear too brief, obscure, or inconsistent with his own opinions.

Those things, which, on this subject do not relate to interpretation, but to the higher criticism, will be considered in Section V.

III. The popular method of instruction and argument, was adopted by the Sacred Writers, which being in general use, would have the greatest effect on the minds of their readers or hearers. This me-



thod, therefore, the interpreter should understand, and constantly remember, that he may be able to perceive the true meaning and force of the Sacred Writers. And this method was simple and inartificial, most wisely adapted, as to the subjects, their connexion and narration, to the times, place, and character of the people.

1. Here it should be observed,

That in the communication of doctrines, or precepts, or in conducting their arguments, they are not to be considered as moulding them to scholastic rules.

2. We should notice, the occasion which gave rise to the consideration of each subject, and to what class of men, and in what place, each was proposed.

3. We must carefully distinguish between, those things which are asserted or maintained, without limitation, and those which are restricted to a particular view or application; and this restriction, may be either expressly stated, or merely intimated by the circumstances of the case.

4. The interpreter ought to distinguish between the propositions themselves, and the arguments by which they are supported; between the arguments and the mode of treating them; between the subject and the illustrations or examples of it.

5. It becomes him to endeavour to place himself in the situation of those, to whom the Sacred Writings were originally addressed, to enter into their views and feelings, diligently comparing the different parts of the Sacred Books together, and using every other means to discover what their views and feelings were.

6. He should be extremely cautious, lest he should even unintentionally, change the true sense of the Sacred Writers, to make it coincide with his own opinions, whether theological, philosophical, or of any other character.



The rules which particularly refer to the interpretation of *doctrinal* or *moral* passages, may be inferred from what has here been said. See,

*Seiler* Bibl. Hermen. p. 554.

*Imm. Berger* Versuch einer moralischen Einleitung in das N. Test., für Religionslehrer und denkende Christen. Lemgov. 1797.

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## CHAPTER VI.

THE AIDS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING THE BOOKS OF THE N. T. AND THE PROPER APPLICATION OF THEM.

The interpreter, besides his own judgment, and good sense, should avail himself of various external aids, in investigating the Sacred Writings, and use each according to its character and value. These external aids are,

### I. *Analogy of languages.*

This is either the analogy of one language, grammatical analogy; or it is that which exists between different dialects, or between cognate languages; or between all those which from natural or historical causes have been made to correspond.

a. This comparison is to be conducted according to fixed rules.

b. The analogy should be real, and not imaginary, and should be sought, not from Lexicons, but from the writings and genius of the languages.

c. Expressions apparently analagous, often in different places and at different times, have not in their meaning any analogy, and therefore we must take the circumstances, of time and place into consideration.

d. Those languages which are separated by a great interval of time, or which differ much in their character, ought not generally to be compared.

e. All minutiae, especially in etymology, should be avoided.

f. Analogy alone, should not be depended upon, to the neglect of other sources of information, or in opposition to them.

*J. D. a Lennep* Or. de linguarum analogia, præm. libro in anal. linguæ græcæ, Lond. (1777.) 8. *Ev. Scheidii* præf. ad Lennepii Etymol. L. gr. *L. C. Valckenarii* Obs. quibus via munitur ad origines græcas investigandas—et *J. D. a Lennep* prælect. de analogia linguæ gr. ed. *Ev. Schedius*, Trai. ad Rh. 1790. 8.

*J. A. Ernesti* de vestigiis linguæ hebr. in lingua græca, in Opusec. phil. crit. p. 171. ss. *F. Th. Rink* diss. de linguarum orientalium cum græca mira convenientia, Regioni. 1788. 4.

*Geo. Gfr. Zemis*ch d. de analogia linguarum interpretationis præsidio, L. 1758. 4.

Cf. *Mori* Acroases hermm. I. p. 168. ss.

II. *The use of the Greek and Latin Writers*, who, as to their style, or as to the age in which they lived, are nearly allied to the Sacred Penmen.

1. The profane writers are not promiscuously to be used.

2. We must observe in what sense, each of the Greek writers use the  $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\sigma\iota\nu$  which occurs in the N. T., in what places, in what manner, and in what kind of writings.

3. We are not to seek illustration from profane authors, of those passages and expressions, which may more properly be explained, from Jewish sources.

4. Nor are we to expect from them an explanation of those expressions, which are peculiar to the christian system.

5. They are not to be consulted, with a view of proving, the entire purity of the style of the Sacred Writers; nor, that the rules, which, it may be found they observed, should be applied in all cases, to determine the sense of the Sacred Penmen.

6. It is not sufficient, when a single word in a phrase,

used in the N. T., is found in profane writers, to prove that the latter may be properly cited, as an illustration of the former.

7. Some Greek authors may be more advantageously compared, with certain N. T. writers, than with others, as Thueydides with St. Paul; and particular modes of expression may be more happily illustrated from some authors, than from others.

8. Some of the Greek writers may, to a certain extent be applied to the illustration, not only of the language, but also of the ideas and subjects of the Sacred Writers. This, however, must be done with the greatest caution.

*F. C. G. Palet* compared passages of Epictetus and the N. T. together, in a work published in 1799.

This whole subject has been treated at great length, and in various ways.

*D. Mart. Friesii* D. exeg. polemica de usu et abusu græcorum inprimis scriptt. in interpretandis illustrandisque, N. T. vocabb. et dicendi modis. Kil. 1733. 4.

*Henr. Dav. Wedekind* d. de habitu antiquorum Græciæ et Latii Scriptt. ad religionem, Gött. 1756. et in *Berg. Mers. Duisb.* T. II. P. I. p. 601. ss.

*S. Gf. Geyseri* Pr. Poetæ græci antiquiores literarum sacrarum interpretis magistri, Vit. 1768. 4.

*J. Laur. Blessig*, Præsidia interpretationis, N. T. ex auctoribus græcis, Argent. 1778. 4.

*Car. Vict. Hauff* Ueber den Gebrauch der griech. Profanskribenten zur Erläuterung des N. T., Lips. 1796. 8.

The following writers have published works on the N. T., containing remarks from the Greek classics.

1. Those who wished to prove the style of the N. T. to be purely Greek.

*And. Balckwall's* Sacred Classics defended and illustrated.

*El. Palaiet* Observatt. philol. criticæ in SS. N. T. libros, L. B. 1752.

*Ejusdem* Specimen Exercitatt. phil. crit. in sacros N. T. LL. Lond. 1755. 8. (Coll. *C. L. Baueri* Præf. II. in *Palaieti* Observatt. ad. N. T. Hirschberg. 1775. 76. 4.

2. Those who have illustrated the language, and the ideas of Scripture.

*Jo. Douglæi* Analecta Sacra. s. Excursus philologici breves super diversa V. et N. T. loca. Subiiciuntur Nort. Kuatchbull Animadverss. in libb. N. T. Amst. 1693. 8.

*Pricæi* Commentarii in varios N. T. Libros, Lond. 1660. f. et Crit. angl. T. V.

*Lamb. Bos* Diatribæ s. Exercitationes philoll. in Scriptt. N. F. Editio secunda, Franeq. 1713. 8. Eiusd. observationes miscellanæ ad loca quædam cum N. T. tum ceterorum scriptt. gr. ib. 1707. 8. ed. 2. 1731.

*Hombergk* Parerga Sacra. Amst. 1719. 4.

*Jac. Elsneri* Observationes sacræ in N. T. libros, Trai. ad Rh. 1720. 28. 11. 8.

*Jo. Alberti* Observatt. sacræ in N. F. libros, Vratisl. 1755. 11. 8.

*F. L. Albrecht.* Adnotationes ad loca quædam N. T. ad calcem Animadverss. ad Aesch. Vol. I. (Mediob. 1743.) p. 533. ss.

*Jo. Rernh. Koehler* Observationes philoll. in loca selecta Sacri Codicis, L. B. 1765. 8.

*J. D. Heilmann* Specimen Obs. quarundam ad illustrandum N. T. ex profanis scriptt. in Opusec. T. T. p. 3. ss.

*Gilb. Wakefield* Silva Critica s. in auctores sacros profanosque Commentarius philol. Cantabr. et Lond. 1789—95. P. I. V. 8. (eujus Examen Hænelinius libellis supra laudd. instituit, quorum quintus prodiit, Erl. 1802. 4. add. *Schuetz* Viindiciæ locorum quorundam N. T. a Wakefieldo Anglo, qua critico, qua interprete tractorum. Jenæ, 1799.)

### 3. Those who have used particular authors for the purpose of illustrating the N. T.

Adnotationes in N. T. ex Xenophonte collectæ a *Geo. Raphaelio*. Hamb. 1709. 8. ex Polybio et Arriano, ib. 1714. 8. Adnotatt. in Sacram Scr., historiciæ in V., philoll. in N. T., collectæ ex Herodoto, Lüneb. 1731. 8.—Junctim deinde hi libelli sunt editi:

*Geo. Raphaelii* Adnotatt. historicæ in Vet. et philologicæ in N. T. ex Xenophonte, Polybio, Arriano, et Herodoto collectæ. L. B. 1747. II, 8.

*G. Gu. Kirchmaieri* Parallelismus N. F. et Polybii—Vit. 1725. 4.

*Casp. Frid. Munthe* Obs. Philoll. in sacros N. T. libros ex Diodoro Siculo collectæ, Hasn. 1755. 8.

*Baueri* Philologia Thucyd. Paullina supra laudata est.

*Jo. Joach. Bellermanni* Specimen animadverss. in N. Fæd. libros ex Homeri Iliad, Rhaps. cf. Ers. 1785. 4.

*Jo. Henr. Muecke* Pr. quid adimenti sacrarum litt. interpreti præstet Homeri cum SS. Scriptt. comparatio. L. 1789. 4.

*J. L. Salchini* Observatt. ad varia V. et N. T. loca ex Pindaro desumptæ. Bern. 1745. 4. coll. Mus. Helv. II, p. 335. IV, p. 644.

*Andr. Gochemii* Specimen philoll. in N. T. adnotatt. potissimum ex Euripide depromtarum, Symbb. Litt. ad incr. scientt. omn. gen. collect. altera, (Hal. 1754,) p. 310. ss.

Ευριπίδης τετραχάλισμενος Euripidis Hecuba selectis observatt. N. T. Atticam puritatem comprobantibus—adornata a *J. C. Weidling*. Geræ, 1758. 8.

*Alb. Geo. Walch*, Pr. quo illustrantur loca aliquot librorum. N. T. ex Eurip. Alceste, Schleus. 1789. 4.

*Job. Eckhardi* Obs. phil. ex Aristoph. Pluto dictioni N. T. illustrandæ inservientes. Accedit ejusdem generis diss. ex Hom. II, Ζ. Quæd. 1733. 4.

*Chr. Porschberger* Theocritus Ser. Sacram illustrans s. sententiæ ac phrases e poetis Gr. inprimis bucolicis—ad illustranda sacri cod. oracula, Dresd. et L. 1754. 8.

4. *Wolfius* in his Curæ Philologicæ, *Wetstein* in his Animadversiones, and other critical commentators, have used and increased these collections of remarks from the classics; some interpreters, indeed, as *Grotius* and *Hammond* had long before enriched their commentaries with remarks of this nature; and *Hezel* collected and united the observations of distinguished writers, derived from the classics.

Novi Foederis Volumina Sacra, virorum clariss. opera et studio e scriptt. gr. illustrata. Edidit *Guil. Fr. Hezel* Pars. I., Hal. 1788.

III. *The comparison of the ancient Greek versions of the O. T.*, as to words, phrases, modes of construction, ideas, subjects, and quotations from the Old in the New Testament.

Besides the authors quoted above, see,

*J. H. Michaelis* diss. de usu LXX. interpp. in N. T., Hal. 1715. 4.

*C. F. Schmidii* diss. II. versionem Alex. optimum interpretationis LL. SS. præsidium esse, L. 1763. s. 4.

*Fr. Ben. Gantzsch* Spec. exercitt. grammaticarum ad illustrandum N. T. e vers. Alex. Brem. 1778. Frf. et L. 1786.

*J. F. Fischeri* Proluss. V. in quibus varii loci librorum divv. utriusque Test.—illustrantur. L. 1779. 8. Prol. I. et II.

*Pet. Keuchenii* Annotationes in omnes N. Test. libros. Editio nova, et altera parte, nunquam edita, auctior, cum præf. *Jo. Alberti*, L. B. 1755. 8.

*J. Chr. Biel* Novus Thesaurus philol. S. Lexicon in LXX. et alios libros V. T.—Hagæ Com. 1779. s. III, 8. Supplementa hujus B. Lexici edidit. *J. Fr. Schleusnerus* (Spicilegium Lexici in Intpp. gr. V. T. post Bielium congressit—*J. F. Schl.* L. 1784. Spec. secundum 1786. 8.)



*J. Fr. Fischeri.*—Clavis reliquiarum verss. græcarum V. T. Aquila, Symmachi, Theodot. quintæ, sextæ et septimæ specimen. particula I. in Velthus. Kuin. et Rup. Commentatt. theoll. IV, p. 195. ss. (Primum edita L. 1758. 8.)

Add. *Mori* Aeroases II. p. 80—148. I. *Th Mayer* Obs. ad ep. Jacobi e. vers. Alex, *Velthus*. Comm. theoll. IV. p. 289.

In using the ancient versions of the O. T. for the illustration of the New, we must be careful—

a. That the reading of the LXX, or of the fragments of the other versions be correct, and that we accurately examine the version, lest we suppose that the Greek words or phrases answer to certain words and phrases in the Hebrew, when they really do not. It is to be remembered, that the reading of the LXX, sometimes differs from the Hebrew: sometimes the translation is literal, sometimes paraphrastical, and sometimes it is very incorrect.

In correcting the Alexandrian version, the following writers have of late distinguished themselves; J. F. Semler, Griesbach, Strothius, Doederlin, Spohn, Scharfenberg, Hornemann, J. F. Schleusner, and especially *Robt. Holmes*, who commenced a new critical edition of the LXX. See, *Eichhorn* Bibl. VII. p. 798. *Rosenmueller* Handb. der bibl. Lit. II. p. 318. *Bauer* Critica Sacra.

In collecting the fragments of the other Greek versions, the most distinguished writers are, Doederlin, Scharfenberg, and Schleusner, who had been preceded in this department by Morinus, Flaminius, Druseus, &c. add. *J. G. Trendelenburg*, Chrestomathia Hexaplaris. Lub. et L. 1794. The value of a new Greek version, edited by Villoison and Ammon, from a Venetian MS., is very small. See, *C. F. Ammon* comm. de versionis V. T. Venetæ usu, indole et ætate, Tom. III.

b. The interpretations of the same Heb. words and phrases, given by the different Greek translators should be carefully compared. In this way, both the significa-



tion and sense of many words may be best understood, and what is spoken according to the Heb., and what according to the Greek idiom be most clearly distinguished.

c. Care should be taken, that new and unusual significations of words and phrases should not be rashly transferred from these versions to the N. T. See,

*C. F. Loesneri* Observatt. ad voces quasdam verss. græ. vet. interpretum Proverb. Solomon.—in Velthusen. Künöl et Ruperti Commentt. theoll. T. III.

d. It should be observed, whether there appear any traces of the later philosophy of the Jews, in these translations.

There is need that caution should be observed in the use of Concordances, which are frequently erroneous.

*Conc. Kircheri* de Concordantium Biblicarum—vario ac multiplici usu—διαπτύξις, Viteb. 1622. 4.

Concordantiæ V. Test. græcæ, Ebreis vocibus respondententes, πολὺ χροῖστοι—authore Com. Kirchero 1607.

*Abr. Trommii* Concordantiæ græcæ versionis vulgo dictæ LXX. Interp. Leguntur hic præterea voces græcæ pro Hebr. redditæ ab antiquis omnibus V. T. interpretibus, quorum nonnisi fragmenta exstant, Aquila etc., Amst. 1718, II, f.

*Jo. Gagnier* Vindicæ Kirchianæ, s. Animadversiones in novas Trommii concordantias—Oxon. 1718 et *Abr. Trommii* Epist. apologetica ad Gagnerium—qua se suasque concord. gr. modeste tuetur., Amst. 1718. 4.

*Frid. Lankisch* Concordantiæ Bibliorum germanico—hebraico—græcæ—3. ed. Erf. 1696.

*J. H. Meisneri* Nova vet. Test. clavis, addita est significatio verborum hebr. e vers. Alex. L. 1800. II, 3.

IV. *The use of the spurious and apocryphal writing of the Jews and early Christians, in illustrating the language and contents of the N. T.*

These are, 1. The apocryphal books of the O. T., commonly bound with the canonical books, which were either written originally in Hebrew, and translated into Greek, or written in Greek at first.

*J. G. Eichhorn* Einleitung in die apocryphischen Schriften des Alt. Test. L. 1795. 8.

*Ben. Bendtson* Specimen exerce. critt. in V. T. libros apocryphos, Gött. 1789. 8.

Of these, the most important are, the Book of *Sirach* (Sententiæ Jesu Siracidæ, græce. Textum ad fidem codd. et verss. emendavit illustravit *J. Gu. Linde*. Gedani 1795. Glaubens- und Sittenlehre Jesu, des Sohns Sirach. Neu Uebersetzt. mit erläut. Anmerk. von *J. W. Linde*—Zweite umgearb. Aufl. 1795. 8.——The book of *Tobias* (Die Geschichte Tobi's—übers. und mit Anmerk.—auch einer Einleitung, Versehen von *C. D. Ilgen*, Jen. 1800. 8.)——The Book of Wisdom (Das Buch der Weisheit, als Gegenstück der Koheleth, und als Vorbereitung zum Studium des N. T., bearbeitet von *J. C. C. Nachtigal*, Hal. 1799. 8.

*G. J. Henke* diss. de usu librorum apocryphorum V. T. in N. Test., Hal. 1711. 4.

*T. G. Ienichen* d. præ. Reinhardto def. de petenda rerum, quas libri N. T. continent, e libris V. T. apocryphis illustratione, Vit. 1787. 8.

*C. Th. Kunoel* Observationes ad N. Test. ex libris apocryphis V. Test. L. 1798. 8. (in verbis et formulis magis, quam sententiis et decretis illustrandis versatæ.)

Beitrage zur historischen interpretation des N. Test. aus den damals herrschenden Zeitbegriffen, von Otmar dem zweiten, in *Henke* Neuen Mag. III. 201. ss. IV. 123. ss.

## 2. Apocryphal books of the Old Testament.

Von den Apocryphis und Pseudepigraphis der Juden, in Beiträgen zur Beförd. des vernünft. Denk. in der Rel. IV. p. 192. ss. add. *J. S. Semler* von den Pseudepigraphis in s. Theolog. Briefen, 1. Sammlung.

Codex Pseudepigraphus N. Test. collectus, castigatus—illustratus a *J. A. Fabricio*, Hamb. 1713. 8. Codicis—volumen alterum, acc. Josephi vet. Christ. scriptoris Hypomnesticon—cum vers. et not. *J. A. Fabricii*, Hamb. 1723. 8.

## 3. Apocryphal books of the New Testament.

*J. Fr. Kleuker* über die Apokryphen des N. T., in Vergleichung mit denjenigen Urkunden des Christ. deren Apostol. Ursprung und Zweck aus innern und äussern Gründen erweislich ist., Hamb. 1798. 8.

Codex apocryphus N. Test. collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque censu-

ris et animadvers. illustratus a *J. A. Fabricio*. Editio secunda, emendatior, et tertio tomo aucta. Hamb. 1719. III. 8.

*Guil. Lud. Brunn*. disqu. hist. crit. de indole ætate, et usu libri apoeryphi, vulgo inscripti *Evangelium Nicodemi*. Berl. 1794. 8. (add. Berlin. Monatschr. 1802. Nov. p. 888.

To these books may be added some of the writings of the *Apostolic Fathers*—Clement, Barnabas, Hermas.

On these writings, see,

*J. E. C. Schmidius* Handbuch der Kirchengesch. I, p. 457.

*J. G. Ronsenmueller* Historia interpret. SS. Litt. in eccl. T. I.

*Cotelerius* Opera Patrum qui App. temporibus floruerunt rec. Clericus, Amst. 1724.

These apocryphal and spurious writings are of value,

a. To illustrate the language of the N. T., especially those words and phrases which are peculiar to it; and also proverbial expressions, parables, &c.

b. As exhibiting the manner of narration, teaching and arguing.

c. As explaining, some moral precepts, rules, opinions, rites, and other things of similar character.

Care however must be taken,

a. To ascertain the age and character of each book, lest things which pertain to a later period, should be applied to the N. T.

β. That we do not suppose that a mere slight similarity of expression, is sufficient to prove them apt illustrations of the N. T.

γ. That we be not injudicious in carrying the use of these books to an extreme.

V. The works of the Jews, either in Greek, or in Hebrew, written in the New Testament period, or at a later date, may be advantageously applied, not only to explain the language, but also the subjects of the Sacred Writings, and the mode in which these subjects are treated.

## I. Writings of the ancient Jews in Greek.

a Of *Philo*, whose works are principally useful as exhibiting the allegorical interpretations, and religious philosophy of the Jews.

The best edition of his works is that by *Mungey*, Lond. 1742. II. f.

Chrestomatia Philoniana S. Loci illustres ex Philone Alex. et cum animadverss. editi a *J. C. Gu. Dahl* Hamb. 1800. 8. Pars altera s. Philonis libelli adv. Flaccum et de leg. ad Caium cum animadverss. *Dahl*i, Hamb. 1802. 8.

*E. H. Stahl* Versuch eines system. Entwurfs des Lehrbegriffs Philo's von Alex. in Eichhorn Bibl. d. bibl. Litt. IV. p. 769. *Staedlin*. Gesch. der Litt. Jesu I. p. 490.

*J. B. Carpzovii* Sacræ Exercitationes in Pauli Ep. ad Hebr. ex Philone Alex. Præfixa sunt Philoniana Prolegomena, in quibus de non adeo contemnenda Philonis eruditione Hebr., de convenientia stili Philonis cum illo D. Pauli in Ep. ad Hebr. et de aliis nonnullis varii argumenti exponitur, Helmst. 1750. 8.

*J. B. Carpzovii* Stricturæ in epist. Pauli ad Romanos, adpersi subinde sunt flores ex Philone Alex. Helmst. 1756. 8.

*C. Fr. Loesneri* Observatt. ad N. Test. e. Philone Alex. L. 1777. 8.

*A. F. Kulnii* Spicilegium Loesneri Observatt. ad N. Test. e Phil. Alex. Pforten. 1785. 8.

b. Of *Flavius Josephus*, whose writings also illustrate the history of the age, in which the books of the New Testament were written.

His works were edited by *Sig. Havercampus*, at Utrecht in 1726, and by *Fr. Oberthuer*, at Leipsic, in 1782.

Chrestomathia Flaviana s. loci illustres ex Flavio Josepho delecti et animadverss. illustrati a *J. G. Fredelenburgh*, L. 1789. 8.

*J. A. Ernesti* Exercitationes Flavianæ, in Opp. phil. crit. p. 359. ss. ad *Oberthuer* in Fabric. B. gr. V. p. I. ss. 14. s.

*J. B. Otii* Spicilegium s. Excerpta ex Flavio Josepho ad N. T. illustrationem, in T. H. ed. Jos. Havercamp. p. 38. ss.

*J. T. Krebsii* Observations in N. Test. e Flavio Josepho. L. 1755. 8.

The authority of both Philo and Josephus has been disputed. We must distinguish with respect to both, what is delivered as merely their opinion, and what is stated as the popular notion, or the sentiment of their learned men. We must also consider what influence the

Pharasaical principles of Josephus, and the profane philosophy of Philo, would have upon their writings.

2. Targums, (Chaldee paraphrases of some of the books of the O. T.) especially those of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*.

De iis vid. *Wolf*. *Bibl. Hebr.* II. p. 1147. ss. 1189. ss. *Eichhorn*, *Einl.* ins *A. Test.* I. p. 399. ss. *Bauer*. *Crit. S.* p. 293. ss. *Rosenmueller*, *Handbuch* III. p. 3. ss. *J. F. Fischer* in *Profuss. quinque* in *V. et N. T.* p. 51. ss.

*G. L. Baueri* *Chrestomathia e paraphrasibus chaldaicis et Talmude delecta notisque brevibus et indice verborum illustrata.* Norib. 1792. 8.

*J. H. Michaelis* *diss. de Targumim s. verss. ac paraphrasium V. T. Chaldaicarum usu.* Hal. 1720. 4. add. *Seiler*, *über die Gott. Offenbarungen* II. p. 434. s. 472. ss.

3. Other writings of the ancient Jews in Heb., especially the *Mishna* (edited, translated and illustrated by notes, by *Gu. Surenhusius*, Amst. 1698—1703. VI. f.) The *Gemara* or commentary on the *Mishna* (the *Talmud*.) See, *Fabric. Bibliogr. antiq.* p. 3. ss. *Buddei Isag.* ad *theol. univ.* p. 781. ss.

Some suppose that the book *Sohar* should also be ascribed to an early age. *Mori Herm.* II. 155.

4. The works of the later Jewish doctors.

*Scriptores Rabothani, Midraschici, alii, J. G. Wolfi* *Bibliotheca Hebr.* Ham. 1715—33. IV. 4. *Volumine II.* add. *H. F. Koecheri* *Nova bibl. Hebraica, secundum ordinem bibl. Hebr. Wolfii disposita.*—Jen. 1783. s. II. 4. *Mosis Maimonidis* (mort. 1205.) *libri. cf. et Raymundi Martini* *Pugio Fidei* *adv. Mauros et Judæos* ed. *J. B. Carpzovii*, L. 1687. s.

The following authors illustrated the N. T. from Jewish writers.

*Tho. Cartwright* *Mellificium Hebraicum, in Criticis Anglic.* T. II.

*Jo. Drusii* *Præterita s. Annotationes in totum Jesu Chr. Testamentum.* Fraueq. 1612. 4. *Prasaltera* 1616. 4.

*Jo. Leusdeni* *Philologus Hebræo—mixtus, una cum spicilegio philologico ; Editio tertia, Leidæ et Ultrai.* 1699. 4.

*Jac. Capelli* *Observat. in N. T. et Lud. Capelli* *Spicilegium notarum in libros N. T.* Amst. 1657. 4. etiam *Jo. Camcronis* *Myrothecion h. e. Novi Test. quam plurima loca illustrata.*—Salmur, 1677. 4.

Those most worthy of consideration, are the following.

*Jo. Lightfooti* Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in IV. Evangg —Nunc secundum in Germania e Museo *J. B. Carpzovii* L. 1684. 4.

Ejusd Horæ Hebr. et Talmudicæ in Acta App., partem aliquam ep. ad Rom. et priorem ad Corinth. nunc primum in Germania—editæ e Mus. *J. B. Carpzovii*, L. 1679. 4.

Novum Test. ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Hebræorum illustratum curis —*B. Scheidii*, *J. A. Danzii* et *Lac. Rhendferdi*, editum—a *Jo. Gerh. Meuschen*—L. 1736. 5.

*Chr. Schoettgenii* Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in universum Nov. Test. quibus Horæ *J. Lightfooti*, etc. suppletur—*Dresd.* et L. 1733. 4. Ejusd. Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in theologiam Judæorum dogmaticam.

From these sources, *Wetstein* derived many valuable remarks found in his Commentary. Consult also *Buxtorfi* Lexicon Chald. Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum, Bas. 1640 f. and *Corrodius* Hist. Crit. Chiliasm. T. I. et II.

Not only the rites, proverbial and peculiar expressions, and general style of the N. T. may be illustrated from these sources; but also the opinions, precepts, traditions, the mode of argument and instruction. In the N. T. however the imperfections which disfigure the Jewish writings, are not to be found. See,

*Gu. C. G. Weise* diss. de modo domini acceptos a magistris Judaicis loquendi ac disserendi modos sapienter emendandi, Vit. 1792, enlarged in the Commentatt. *Velthus. Kuinod.*

We must be careful,

1. Not to apply the Jewish writings promiscuously to the illustration of the N. T.
2. To remark the times of which they speak.
3. The sources, whence they derive their information, should be carefully observed; the authority of the later Jews is not entirely to be despised if they appeal to older writers as their authority.

Other Oriental writings, especially in Syriac and Arabic, have not as yet, been applied to the illustration of the N. T., to the extent which is desirable, since they might throw considerable light, on the use of words and phrases,



of figures, parables, &c.—*Ammon* ad. Ern. Inst. N. T. p. 67.

VI. The knowledge of the geography and topography of Palestine, and of the countries and places, of which the Sacred Writers speak.

The criticism of some passages, and the interpretation of a great many, are intimately connected with these subjects. The authors to whom we must look for information, on these points, are the ancient Geographers, and recent travellers.

Eusebii Cæsar. Liber περι τῶν τοπικῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, in *J. Clerici* onomastico urbium et locorum Ser. S. Amst. 1707. f.

The larger modern works on the Geography of Palestine, are those of *Reland*, *W. A. Bachiene*, *Ysbrand van Hamelsveld*, *J. J. Bellerman*.

The smaller are,

*Ed. Wells* Historical Geography of the Old and New Testaments.

*C. A. Frege* geograph. Handbuch bei Lesung der heil. Schrift.—Gotha 1788.

From modern travels, many useful things have been collected.

*Harmer's* Observations on the N. T. from Voyages and Travels in the East.

*Ludecke* Expositio brevis locorum SS. ad orientem se referentium—ex observatt. certis, plerumque propriis instituta. Hal. 1777. 4.

*M. C. G. Lange* Sammlung der besten und gründlichsten Erläuterungen der h. Schr. aus den vornehmsten Reisebeschreibungen, Chem. 1784. 8.

An Essay on the method of illustrating Scripture, from the relations of modern travellers in Palestine, and the neighbouring countries, by *John Foster*, Lond. 1802. 8.

*Fr. Hasselquist* Reisen nach Palestina, Rott. 1761.

Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den orient, in Uebersetz. und Auszügen mit Anmerkungen von *H. E. G. Paulus*, Jen. 1792.

VII. The knowledge of history and antiquities

of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, especially of the age in which the Sacred Writers lived.

To this head pertain,

1. The political history of Judea, especially from the commencement of the reign of Herod.

*Christi. Noldii* Historia Idumæa s. de vita et gestis Herodum diatribe, Francq. 1660. 12. et ad calc. Josephi Opp. ed. Haverc. T. II. p. 331. ss.

*Cph. Cellarii* Historia Herodum, diss. Acad. P. I. p. 207. ss. et Joseph. Haverc. II. p. 324. ss.

*J. G. Altmanni* Exerc. de gente Herodum, in Tempe Helv. VI. p. 468. ss.

(*Kuinoel*) Geschichte des Jüd. Volks von Abraham bis auf Jerusalem's Zerstörung. L. 1761. 8.

*Deylingii* Observatt., *Fischeri* Proluss. de Vit. Lex. aliique etiam consuli possunt. add. Meusel. Bibl. I, II. p. 278. ss.

2. The history of our Saviour and his Apostles. Besides the biographers of Jesus and the Apostles, and the works of those, who have written concerning the congregations to whom the Sacred Writings were addressed, consult the following authors,

*J. J. Kess* in dem Anhang zur Lebensgesch. Jesu, p. I. ss.

*C. H. L. Poeltz* Populäre Moral des Christh. nebst. einer histor. Einleitung in das Zeitalter Jesu, L. 1794. 8.

*J. Dietr. Hartmann* Beiträge zur christl. Kirchen und Religionsgesch. I. B. Jenæ 1796. 8.

*Jo. Casauboni* de rebus sacris et eccless. Exercitationes XVI. ad Baronii Prolegg. in annales. Gen. 1655. 4.

3. The history of Jewish opinions.

*C. H. L. Poeltz* de gravissimis theologiæ seniorum Judæorum decretis—diss. L. 1794. 4. (Ejud. Pragmatische Uebersicht. der Theol. der spät. Juden, I. Th. L. 1795. 8.

Ueber die Jüd. Theologie (vor und nach dem Babyl. Exil.) in den Beytr. z. Beförd. d. vernünft. Denkens in der Rel. V. p. 23, ss. Abriss der hebr. Cultur bis auf das Zeitalter Jesu, besonders mit Hinsicht auf die Fortschritte ihrer Moral, in Henke Mag. f. Rel. phil. III. p. 506. ss.—Add. *Staudlinii* Hist. doctrinæ mor. Jesu, *T. J. Corrodi* Crit. Hist. Chiliasmi T. J. et variæ Commentt. in *Schmidii* Bibl. eris. et exeg. N. T.

Their opinions should be especially studied.—a. Re-

garding the Messiah, (Abänderungen der Lehre vom Messias, Beytr. z. Beförd. d. vernünft. Denk. in der. Rel. V. p. 42. SS. *Ammon*, Bibl. Theol. Tomo II. *Allix* Testimony of the Jewish Church.)—b. On the Advents of the Messiah and his ἐπιφανείας (besides others, See *H. C. Millies* diss. de variis generibus θεοφανείων et ἐπιφανείων θείων in libris utriusque fœd. et Phil. Alex. Aal. 1802—S. *J. C. Kolen* de reditu Messiaë ad iudicium gentium, Gött 1800—4.)—c. On the resurrection from the dead, (*Frisch* in Eichhorn Bibl. IV. 690. *Ziegler* in Henke Mag. V.)—d. On demoniacs (*Schmidt*, Bibl. für Kritik I.)—e. The opinions and rites of the Jewish sects.—See the authors quoted above.

4. The history of the countries bordering upon Palestine, and of their Princes.

The Observationes Sacræ of *Sal. Deylingius*, contain many remarks on these subjects.

5. Manners and customs of the Jews, particularly during the time of Herod.

Their sacred rites, domestic manners and habits, their Sanhedrim, their laws and punishments, weights and measures, &c. The manners and institutions of foreign Jews, are not to be neglected. *Pet. Wesselingii*, Diatr. de Judæorum Archontibus.—Trai. ad Rh. 1738. 8.

The writers upon Jewish antiquities, are particularly enumerated, by *Meuselius*, Bibl. hist. Vol. I., and Vol. X.

The more recent writers worthy of note, are the following.

*H. Chr. Warnke*'s Entwurf der hebr. Alterthümer. II. Aufl. Weim. 1794. 8.

*E. A. Schulzi*'s Compendium archæologiæ Hebr. Lib. I. antiquitates politicas, Lib. II. antiquitates eccl. continens ed *A. P. G. Schickedanz*. Dresd. 1793. 8.

Alterthümer der Hebræer, verfasst von *Joh. Babor*—Wien 1794. 8.

*Joh. Jahn* Biblische Archæologie, I. Theil. I. Band, Wien 1796. II. Band 1797. (Hausliche Alterthümer.) II. Theil. I. B. (polit. Alterthümer) ib. 1800. 8.

*G. L. Bauer's* kurzes Lehrbuch der hebr. Alterthümer des A. und N. Test.—L. 1799. 8.

*J. J. Bellermann* Handbuch der bibl. Litteratur, enthaltend Archæologie, Geographie, Chronologie, Genealogie, Geschichte, Naturlehre, und Naturgeschichte, Mythologie und Göttergeschichte, Alterthümer, Kunstgesch. Nachrichten von den bibl. Schriftstellern, Erf. 1797. ss. IV. ss. et T. I. secunda editio.

*A. G. Brehme* Geschichte des Orients, besonders Palæstinas älterer und neuerer Zeit, benebst einer Kritik bibl. Stellen, Goth. 1802, 3. 8.

*J. G. Goetzinger* philol. Excursionem zur Erkl. des N. T. aus den Gottesd. und gerichtl. Alterth. des A. B. Freyb. 1786. s. 2. 8.

6. From the Grecian history is to be learned, principally, what relates to the Seleucidæ, the kingdom of Macedon, the affairs of Asia Minor, and Achaia.

It is of importance also, to be acquainted with the Sacred rites of the Greeks—their games—their judicial procedures, &c.

*C. Bruenings* Compendium antiquitatum græcarum e profanis ad sacram litterarum interpretationem accommodavit. Ed. III, Francof. ad M. 1759. 8. *J. G. Unger* Analecta Antiquaria sacra, L. 1740. 8. *P. Zornii* Bibliotheca antiquaria et exegetica. Erf. 1774. s. XII. 8.—*Jac. Lydii* Agonistica Sacra. Roterod. 1657. 12. Et cum *Jo. Lomeieri* addit. Zutphan. 1700. 12.

7. The Roman history, from the time of Augustus, and the history of the Roman provinces, throws great light on many passages of the N. T.

*J. T. Krebsii*, de usu et præstantia Romanæ historiæ in N. T. interpretatione libellus, L. 1745. 8.

*Jac. Perizonii*, diss. de Augustea orbis terrarum descriptione, adi. ejus Diss. de Prætorio, L. B. 1696. 8.

To this head belongs, the history of the Presidents of Syria, and the Procurators of Judea.

*J. D. Schoeffini* Chronologia Romanorum Syriæ præfectorum, in Comm. hist. et ait. p. 433.

*Lardner's* history of the Princes and Governors mentioned in the N. T.

8. From the Roman antiquities, are to be learned, the administration of the provinces, their jurisprudence, their

tributes, military affairs, weights and measures, times of enrolment, &c.

We must be careful not to make an injudicious application of ancient rites and customs to the N. T. ; and secondly, not to confound times, by supposing what is mentioned as prevailing at one period, was as a matter of course, also prevalent, in the times of the Sacred Writers.

*J. T. Krebsii* Comm. de ratione N. Test. e moribus antiquis illustrandi, minus caute instituta, opuscul. p. 519.

9. With history should be united *chronology*.

Besides the works of *Usser*, *Spanheim*, *Bengel*, and others, consult the Writers, of Harmonies of the Gospels, of the annals of Paul, (*Jo. Pearson.*) and of the history of the Apostles, (*Lud. Cappeli*) *Historia Apostolica illustrata*, 1683. 4.

Some knowledge of the heathen *Mythology* will also be found useful in reading the N. Testament.

VIII. The use and proper application of other departments of learning, which have reference to antiquity.

To this head belongs,

1. Natural history, both general, and as peculiarly pertaining to the countries in which the Sacred Writers lived. Botany especially will be found useful. (*A. F. Michaelis* de studio hist. natur. theologiæ adjuments, Vit. 1790.

Besides the authors quoted above, consult,

*S. Oedmann* Verinischte Sammlungen aus der Naturkunde zur Erklärung der heil. Schr. aus dem Schwed. übersetzt, von *D. Groening*, Rost. 1786.

*H. E. Warnekros* Comm. de Palestinæ fertilitate præcipuisque illius dotibus cum Ægypto comparatis, in *Repert. bibl. et orient Litt.* T. XIV and XV.

*J. G. Buchlii* et *G. F. Walchii*, *Calendaria Palestinæ œconomica*, Gött. 1785. 4.

*Math. Hilleri* Hierophyticon s. Commentarius in loca SS. quæ plantarum faciunt mentionem, Traj. ad Rh. 1725. II. 4.

*Olai Celsii Hierobotanicon s. de plantis S. Scripturæ.* Ups. 1745, 47.  
II. 8.

*J. R. Fosteri* de bysso antiquorum Liber singularis, Lond. 1776. 8.

*Wolfg. Franzii* Historia animalium (quæ in SS. Commemorantur) cum commentariis et Supplementis—opera *Jo. Cypriani* Francof. et L. 1712.

*Sam. Bocharti* Hierozoicon, s. de animalibus S. Scr. Lugd. B. 1792. recensuit, suis notis adjectis, *Ein. Fr. Car. Rosenmueller* Lips. 1793—96. III. 4.

Hierozoici ex *Sam. Bocharto*, itinerariis variis aliisque virorum doctiss. commentariis, compositi Specimina tria, auctore *Fr. Jac. Schoder*, Tub. 1784—86. 8

*Joh. Braunius* de vestitu Sacerdotum Hebr. has some remarks on the precious stones mentioned in Scripture.

*A. F. Rugius* Gemeinnütz. Abhh. für Freunde der Bibel, über klima, Naturgesch. etc. des morgelandes, Witt. 1786.

*Russel's* Natural History of Aleppo.

*Niebuhr's* Travels and description of Arabia and the writings of *Michaelis, Forskol* and others.

## 2. Medicine, the science generally, and as it existed among the Hebrews, Egyptians, and Greeks.

*Tho. Bartholini* Paralytici N. T. medico et philologico commentario illustrati, L. 1685. 8.

Ejusd. miscellanea medica de morbis biblicis. Frf. 1705. 8.

*G. W. Wedelii* Centuria Exercitationum medico philologicarum sacrarum et profanarum, Dicaes X. Jen. 1702. Centuriæ secundæ dicades V, et 1705—20. 4.

*Rich. Mead* Medica Sacra, Lond. 1749. 8.

*G. G. Richteri* dissertationes quatuor medicæ, Gött. 1775. 4.

*C. E. Eichenbach* Scripta medico biblica. Rott. 1779.

Medicisch hermeucutische Untersuchungen der in der Bibel vorkommenden krankengeschichten, L. 1794. 8.

*J. S. Lindinger* de Hebr. Vett. arte medica, de dæmone et dæmonicis, Vit. 1773. 8.

## 3. Mathematics and Physics.

*J. B. Wiedeburgii* mathesis biblica, Jen. 1730. 4.

*E. B. Wiedeburg* Natur-und Grössenlehre in ihrer Anwendung zur Rechtfertigung der h. Sehr. Nürnberg. 1782.

*J. J. Scheuchzeri* Physica Sacra, oder geheiligte Naturwissenschaft der in der heil. Sehr. vorkommenden natürl. Sachen, Augsb. et Ulm. 1731—35. V. f. et Physica Sacra, iconibus æneis illustrata. 1727.

## 4. Jurisprudence, especially that of the Romans.

*Gust. Sam. Theod. Baumgarten Crusii* Specimina II. Jurisprudentia in illustrando N. T. Lucina., Lips. 1801.



*Em. Merillii* notæ philol. in passionem Christi.

*J. O. Westenbergii* de jurisprudentia Pauli Apostoli in ejus opusec. acad. fascie. primo ed Püttmann, L. 1794.

*A. G. Marche* Specimen jurisprud. Pauli Apostoli quoad rem tutelarem, L. 1756. 4.

## 5. Philosophy, philosophy of the mind, the history of philosophy.

*Car. Fr. Baueri* Logica Paullina in usum exegeseos et doctrinæ sacræ, Hal. Magd. 1774. 8.

*J. F. Roos* diss. præ Schnurrer defensa, Rudimenta Logicæ Sacræ, Tub. 1776.

*J. Gottl. Muensch* Psychologie des N. T., Regensb. 1802.

*J. G. Walch* Comment. de arte aliorum animos cognoscendi, Jen. 1783.

*J. G. Walch* de usu historiæ philosophicæ in interpr. N. T.

Dispute has arisen upon this subject, partly from the ambiguity of the expressions, and partly from the abuse in its application.

The uses of Philosophy and its history, consists,

a. In enabling us to fix, with more accuracy, the meaning of certain words and phrases.

The Philosophy of language, has of late been very accurately investigated.

b. In investigating and determining the meaning of sentences, and the primary and general idea attached to them.

*S. F. N. Mori* diss. de notionibus universis in theologia, Diss. theol. et phil. I. p. 239.

c. In illustrating expressions, rules, and precepts, and their causes.

d. In discovering the logical connexion of the ideas, and obtaining a clear view of the argument.

They are chargeable with the abuse of Philosophy, who apply it to the explanation of popular expressions, and pervert the grammatical and historical meaning of words from philosophical reasons.

e. A knowledge of *criticism* and *rhetoric*, will be found useful to the interpreter.

## IX. The proper use of the ancient interpreters.

The authority of no interpreter, however excellent, can decide what is the meaning of any particular passage; yet testimony or opinion of commentators is important, and they frequently point out the way in which the true meaning may be ascertained.

We should examine,

a. The *Commentaries* and *Homilies* of the most distinguished ecclesiastical writers; among the Greeks those of *Origen*, *Chrysostom*, *Isidore*, of Pelusium, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Euthymius*; among the Latins, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, *Hilary*, *Pelagius*, *Druthmarus*; among the Syrians, *Ephrem* and the *Nestorians*.

*Franc. Ruitzii* Canones s. Regulæ intelligendi S. Scripturas ex mente patrum. Erf. 1611. 8.

*Dan. Whitby*. Diss. de SS. SS. interpretatione secundum Patrum commentarios. Lond. 1714. 8.

Interpretationes N. T. ex Hippolyto collectæ ab *E. A. Frommano*. Cob. 1765.

Ejusd. Interpretatt. N. T. ex Irenæo, ib. 1766.

*Semler* Antiquitatum hermenn. ex Tertull. Specimen, Hal. 1765.

*J. D. Winckleri* Philologemata Lactantiana—Brunsu. 1754. 8.

The different methods of interpretation in the writings of the Fathers, should be distinguished: the allegorical, mystical, œconomical, polemical, doctrinal, moral, grammatical.

b. The ancient versions of which we have already given an account.

a. The Syriac. *Mich. Weberi* L. de usu versionis Syriacæ hermeneutico L. 1778. 8. *Fr. Eb. Boysen* Kritische Erläut. des Grundtextes der h. Schr. des N. T. aus der Syr. Uebers. Drey Stücke., Quedl. 1762. 8. *Lud. de Dieu* Critica Sacra, Amst. 1693. f.

b. Latin. *M. Chr. Gf. Mueller* de usu versionis LL. SS. latinæ, quam vulgatam vocant, in interpretando V. et N. T. Spec. I, II. Schleiz. 1782.

## c. Scholia and Catenæ.

Scholia are grammatical, exegetical, or critical; they are taken from the Greek Fathers, or from the marginal notes of MSS.—or they were written between the verses. They are the work of a known author, or anonymous; the more learned and ancient, the greater their value.

## d. The Glossaries and Lexicons.—See,

*J. A. Ernesti* Prol. de glossiariorum græc. vera indole et recto usu in interpretatione, rec. in *Tempe Helvet.* T. VI. p. 455. ss.

Hesychius and Suidas should be particularly examined; on both of these authors see *Ernesti*.

Latin glossaries, *interlinearis, ordinarius, continua*.

## X. The use of more modern interpreters.

1. Translations, (cf. besides *Masch* and others, *Rosenmueller*. Handb. für die Litt. d. Bibl. Ex. IV.)

a. In Latin, the best and most useful in the business of interpretation are,

The translation of *Sebast. Castalio*, Lips. 1697. Of this translation there have been many editions, that of *Wollius*, L. 1728, to which is prefixed a critical dissertation on the character of the translation;—that of *Jo. Lud. Buncmann*, L. 1738; to this is added, not only the preface of *Wollius*, but also the work of *Vockerodt* de pretio and usu singulari Bibliorum Lat. Castalionis. Besides these, there were several other editions, either of his whole Bible, or of the N. T. alone.

The Scriptures were also translated into Latin by *Erasmus*, *Theod. Beza* (whose version is compared with the Vulgate, by *Jo. Boisius* in *Veteris Interpretis cum Beza allisque recentioribus Collatione* in IV. Evv. et App. Actis, in qua annon sæpius absque justa causa hi ab illo discesserint, disquiritur, Lond. 1655. 8.) *Seb. Schmidius*, *Er. Schmidius*. The more modern latin translations are superior to those just mentioned.

*D. Ch. Guil. Thalemanni* Versio latina Evv. Matthæi, Lucæ, et Johannis, itemque Actuum App. edita a D. C. Tittmanno, Ber. 1781. 8.

Versio latina Epp. N. T. perpetua annotatione illustrata M. Gfr. *Sig. Juspis* Vol. I, II. Lips. 1793.

*A. Ch. Fleischmann* Interpretatio epp. Pauli ad Timoth. et Titum. Vol. I. Tub. 1791. 8.

Sacri N. Test. libri omnes veteri latinitate donati ab *Henr. G. Reichardo* L. 1799. II. 8.

On the difficulties of making a good latin version, see,

*Reichardi* Tract. grammatico-theol. de adornanda N. T. versione vere latina ejusque difficultatibus, adjunctis quibusdam ejus Speciminibus. L. 1796. 8.

Here should be mentioned also the *Paraphrases of Erasmus*, which were referred to, in an early part of this work.

The Paraphrase and notes of Hammond, were translated into Latin by *Le Clerc* and illustrated by remarks of his own. Second edition enlarged, Erf. 1714.

*J. S. Semleri* paraphrases Joannis, Hal. 1771.—Ep. ad Rom. Hal. 1769.—Ad Corinth. Hal. 1770. 76.—Ad Galatas, 1779.—Ep. Jacobi 1781.—Ep. 1. Petri 1783.—Ep. 2. Petri et Ep. Judæ 1784.—Ep. 1. Johannis.

To all these paraphrases *Semler* added notes.

*Voesselti* Narratio de Semler ejusque meritis in interpr. SS. Rigæ, 1792, 8.

*Pet. Abrisch* Paraphrasis et Annotatt. in Ep. ad Hebr. Specimina tria, L. B. 1786—90. 8. (Not completed.)

b. *German* translations of most importance, are, Die Bibel A. und N. Test. mit vollständig erklärenden Anmerkungen von *W. Fr. Hezel*, Lemg. 1781. ss. X. 8.

Das N. Test. nach der Uebersetzung *Chr. Aug. Heumanns*. Verb. Augs. Hannov. 1750. 8. (*T. F. Fritschens* Unparth. und vollständ. Kritik über die Heumann. Uebers. des N. T., L. 1752. s. II. 8.)

Das N. Test. von neuem übersetzt und mit Anm. für sorgfältige Leser begleitet, (von *C. F. Damm.*) Berl. 1764. s. III. 4.

Das N. Test. oder die neuesten Belchrungen Gottes durch Jesum und seine Apostel. Verdeutschet und mit Anm. versehen, durch *C. F. Bahrdt*, Berl. 1783. II. 8. Prima editio prodierat Rig. 1773. secunda 1777.—die letzten Offenbarungen Gottes, übersetzt von *C. F. Bahrdt*, mit durchgängigen Berichtigungen und Anm., versehen von P\*\*, Frf. u. L. 1780. s. II. 8.

Das N. Test. übersetzt aus dem Griech. und mit Anm. erläutert von *G. Fr. Seiler*. Erl. 1781. 8. add. Ejud. Grösseres bibl. Erbauungsbuch des N. T. 1787. ss.

*J. Dav. Michaelis* Uebersetzung des. N. Test. Gött. 1790. II. 5. Ejud. Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte zur Uebersetzung des N. T. Gött. 1790. s. III. 4.

Das N. T. so übersetzt und erklärt, dass es ein jeder Ungelehrte verstehen kann, von *T. H. D. Moldenhawer*, Quedl. 1787. s. II. 8.

Die heil. Schriften des N. T. übersetzt und mit Anmerk. versehen, von *G. W. Rullmann*, Lemgo 1790, 91. III. 8.

In the year 1762, *Jo. Adr. Bottenius* began to publish a German version of the N. T. with notes. Six volumes 8vo. were published, embracing the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles to the Romans, and the Corinthians. About the same time *Jo. Otto Thiessius* undertook a new version of the New Testament, of which the second edition bears the following title. Das Neue Test. oder die heil. Bücher der Christen, neu übers. mit einer durchaus anwendbaren Erklärung, von *J. O. Theiss*.

Sämmtliche Schriften des N. Test. aus dem Griech. übers. von *Joh. Jac. Stolz*.

Some versions were made by members of the Roman Catholic Communion. *Leb. Mutschelle*, Monach. 1789. *B. Weyleus*, Mogunt. 1789. *Dom. de Brentano*. *Brau-*

*nus*, *Car. Schwarz* (Uebers. und Auslegung des N. Test. nach seinen buchst. und moral. Inhalt—nach der höchsten Willensmeinung des Fürstb. v. Daiberg, herausg. von Karl Schwarz, Ulm. 1801. s. II. 8.)

c. Translations into other modern languages.

The French by *Is. de Beausobre* and *Jac. Lenfant*, (Amst. 1741. II. 4.) *Jo. Le Clerc*, Amst. 1703. 4. II. and the Geneva version of the whole Bible, with the notes of *J. S. Osterwald*, 1741. French Catholic translations by *Rich. Simon*, *Pasch. Quesnell* and others.—English translations, by *Hen. Hammond*, *Phil. Doddridge*, *Gilb. Wakefield*, *Archb. Newcome*.—Italian, *Joh. Diodati*, *Joh. Jac. Glueck*.—Danish, *Hoegh Guldberg*.—Dutch, *W. A. van Vloten*, with notes.

On these versions, besides *Rich. Simon*, *Le Long*, *Rosenmueller* (Handb. T. IV.) See, *Fabric. Bibl. græc.* Vol. IV. p. 856. ss.

2. The *Lexicographers* of the N. Test., see,

*J. Fr. Fischeri* Proll. de vitis Lexicorum N. T. separatim antea editæ, multis partibus auctæ, multisque in locis emendatæ. L. 1791. 8.

a. Those who have written Lexicons in Greek and Latin.

*Ed. Leigh* Critica Sacra, i. e. Observationes philologico-theologicæ in omnes voces græcas N. T. juxta ordinem alphab. Ed. quinta, Gothæ 1706. 4.

*Ge. Pasoris* Lexicon manuale N. T. cum animadverss. *J. F. Fischeri*, L. 1774. 8.

*Christ. Stockii* Clavis linguæ Sanctæ N. T. Quintum edita cura *J. F. Fischeri*, L. 1752. 8.

*J. Simonis* Onomasticon N. T., Hal. 1762. 4.

*Jo. Com. Schwarzii* Commentarii critici et philologici linguæ græcæ N. T. L. 1736. 4.

*Chr. Schoettgenii* Novum Lexicon. lat. in N. T. L. 1746. 8. recensuit—locupletavit, *J. T. Krebs*, ib. 1765. 8. post Krebsium recensuit et variis obss. Cocupletavit *G. L. Spohn*, L. 1790. 8. (*J. G. Gottleberi* Animadverss. ad



Schottgenii Lex. N. T. Spec. I. II. Annab. 1771. 4. Ejud. Scholia ad illud Lex. Mis. 1775. *C. T. G. Haymann* Lanx satura Obs. in N. T. e græcis V. T. Krebs. accommodatarum. Dresd 1780. 4.)

Novum Lexicom Gr. lat. in N. Test. Congessit et variis obs. philoll. illustravit, *J. F. Schleusnerus*. Editio altera, emendatior et auctior. L. 1801. II. 8. (Prima ed. prodierat 1792, ad quam separatim. Additamenta ex ed. 2. 1801.)

b. Greek and German.

*J. G. Herrmann* Griechisch-teutsches Wörterbuch des N. Test., Frankf. an der Od. 1781. 8.

*C. Fr. Bahrdt* Griechisch-teutsches Lexicon über das N. T., Berl. 1786. 8.

*Euchar. Oertel* Griechisch-teutsches Wörterbuch des N. Test., Gött. 1799. 8.

Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über das N. T. zum Gebrauch für Studirende, Berl. 1796. 8.

c. German.

*W. A. Teller*. Wörterbuch des N. Test. zur Erklärung der christl. Lehre. Fünfte von neuem durchgeschene Auflage, Berl. 1794. 8.

Zur Beförderung des nützlichen Gebrauchs des *W. A. Tellerschen* Wörterbuchs von *Ge. Heinr. Lange*, Anspach. 1778—85. IV. 8.

*Fr. Chriestlieb Doering* Versuch eines Bibl. Wörterbuchs für unstudirte Lehrer in Stadtschulen. L. 1792. 8.

*J. Cph. Erbstein* Wörterbuch über das N. Test. für den Bürger und Landmann, nebst einer Einleitung, Meissen. 1792. s. II. 8.

Kurzgefasstes Wörterbuch zur Erläuterung der luther. Uebersetzung der Heil. Schrift. Ein Handbuch für unstudirte-selbst denkende Bibelleser, L. 1792. 8.

*Chr. Fr. Schneider* Wörterbuch über die gemeinnützigsten Belehrungen der Bibel, das eben sowohl von jedem einzelnen Gegenstande derselben eine system. Ueber-

sicht giebt. als jeden dahin einschlagenden Ausdruck der luther. Uebers. erklärt—J. Th. L. 1795. II. Th. 1800. 8.

d. Lexicons which refer to the whole of the Scriptures and relate not only to the words but also to their various subjects.

Besides Calmets Dictionary of the Bible, consult the following.

Biblisches Reallexicon über Biblische und die Bibel erläuternde alte Geschichte, Erdbeschreibung, etc. Onomastologie der in der Bibel vorkommenden interessantesten Personen, etc. (herausg. von *W. F. Hezel*,) L. 1783—85. III. 4.

*Ge. Lud. Gebhardt* biblisches Wörterbuch über die sämtlichen heil. Bücher des A. und N. Bundes—mit einer Vorr. von Hezel, Lemgo, 1796. III. 8.

Biblische Encyclopädie, oder exegetisches Realwörterbuch über die sämtlichen Hilfswissenschaften des Auslegers, nach den Bedürfnissen jetziger Zeit. Durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten, (ed. Leun.) Gothæ 1693—96. IV. 4.

3. The various kinds of Commentaries on the New Testament.

Concerning these, we have already treated in a former part of this work.

a. Of those written in Latin, the most important, are, *Hug. Grotii* Annotationes in N. Test., Amst. 1641—50. III. voll. etiam in Crit. Sacris, et Calovii Bibliis illustratis, et cum præf. *Chr. Ern. de Windheim*, Erl. 1755, 57. II. Voll. 4.

*Jo. Alb. Bengelii* Gnomon N. Test. Editio tertia ulustrata per Ern. Bengelium, Tub. 1773. 4.

b. Commentaries written in German.

*Cph. Aug. Hammann's* Erklärung des N. Test., Hann. 1750—53.

*Fr. L. Roeper* Exeget. Handbuch des N. Test. zweite Aufl. 1793.—1802.

*J. E. Chr. Schmidt* philologish-exeget. Clavis über das N. Test., Giess. 1795.

*J. J. Stolz* Erläuterungen zum N. Test. für geübte und gebildete Leser., Hann. 1800—2.

c. Commentaries in other languages.

These have been mentioned, in the early part of this work. In addition to those there referred to, should be noted,

*Beausobre* Remarques histor. crit. et philologiques sur le N. Test., a la Haye, 1742. 4.

*Aug. Calmet* Commentaire litteral sur tous les livres de l'ancien et nouveau Test., P. 1724.

The various classes of commentaries, as to their manner, and design, should be distinguished, as the grammatical, doctrinal, practical, &c.

In the use of the helps which have been here enumerated, the interpreter should observe the following rules.

1. He should endeavour himself to discover the sense, in the use of every grammatical and historical aid in his power, before he consults the opinions of others, as their diversity of sentiment and ingenious conjectures have often a greater tendency to mislead, than to guide to the truth.

2. He must attend to the arguments, by which their opinions are supported, and not trust to the authority of any name, nor suffer himself to be misled by the appearance of novelty and ingenuity, nor by the display of learning on the part of the Commentator.

3. In the use of Lexicons, we must be careful not to confound, the true and constant signification of words, with the sense which may belong to them in certain combinations, or in certain passages; that we do not suppose that a sense which is confined to a peculiar construction or connexion, is universally applicable; and that we do not suffer ourselves to be deceived by passages gathered from va-

rious sources, without having respect to the connexion in which they stand.

4. In those commentaries, in which the opinions of many men are brought together, or which contain observations derived from a variety of sources, it is frequently the case that there is so much confusion, that the quotations cannot be sufficiently understood without a reference to the sources whence they were taken.

5. There is a respect due to the opinions of those commentators, of whose skill, erudition, diligence and judgment we have sufficient evidence; but we are not to suppose that the interpretation proposed by them, can alone be correct; nor are we to undervalue those who, do not choose to pronounce *ex cathedra*, on the sense of a passage, when there is really great doubt as to its true meaning.

XI. There are besides the commentaries, already mentioned, discussions of particular passages of more than usual difficulty, either edited separately, or in collections; which the interpreter should by no means neglect, because they are often of more real value than entire volumes.

The same cautions should be observed in using this species of commentaries, as were suggested in reference to others.

A. Collections of various essays and commentaries.

*Tempe Helvetica dissertationes atque observationes theologicas, philoll. crit. hist. exhibens. Editio secunda. Tiguri 1737—42. VI. 8.*

*Museum Helveticum ad iuvandas litteras in publicos usus apertum. Tiguri 1746—53. XXVII. fasciculi f. VII. Voll. 8.*

*Bibliotheca historico-philologico-theologica. Bremæ 1718—27. Classes VIII. (quæque sex fascicc ) VIII. 8.*

Bibliotheca Bremaensis nova histor. philol. theologica, Brem. et Amst. 1760—67. VI. Classes (quæque trium fasc.) VI. S.

Museum hist. philol. theologicum, Brem. 1728—32. II. voll. (quodque IV. partt.) S.

*N. c. Barkey* Bibliotheca Haganana hist. philol. theol. ad continuationem novæ Bibl. Brem. Amst. 1768—74. VI. Classes (quævis 3. fasc.) 6. voll. S.

Ejusd. Museum Haganum hist. philol. theologicum Hag. Com. 1774—80. IV. Tomi S. (quisque II. Partt. constans.)

Ejusd. Symbolæ litterariæ Haganæ ad incrementum scientiarum omne genus, Hag. Com. 1777—81. II. Classes (quæque 3. fasc.) S.

Symbolæ litterariæ—ex Haganis factæ Duisburgenses, curante *Jo. Pet. Berg*, Hag. Com. 1783—86. Tomi II. quisque duabus Partt. constans, S.

*J. Pet. Berg* Museum Duisburgense Hag. Com. et Duisb. 1782—85. II. Tomi, quisque duabus Partt. S.

Symbolæ litterariæ ad incrementum scientiarum omne genus a variis amicis collatæ. Brem. 1744—49. III. Tomi, S. quisque IV. Partt. constans.

Symbolarum litterariorum ad incrementum scientiarum omne genus collectio altera. Hal. 1754. S.

Bibliotheca Lubecensis, Lub. 1725—30. XII. S.

Nova Bibliotheca Lubecensis, L. 1753—57. VIII. S.

Miscellanea Lubecensia, Rost. et Wism. 1758—61. IV. S.

Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur (*Eichhornio* editore) L. 1777—86. XVIII. S.

Neues Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Litteratur, herausgeg. von *H. E. G. Paulus*, Jen. 1790, 91. VIII. S.

*H. E. G. Paulus* Memorabilien, eine philos. theol. Zeitschrift, der Geschichte und Philosophie der Religion, dem Bibelstudium und der morgenl. Litt. gewidmet. L. 1791—96. VIII. S.



Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengesch. herausgegeben von D. H. Ph. C. Henke, Helmst. 1793—96. VI. 8. Neues Magazin für Religionsphil. Exegese, etc. 1797—1802. VI. 8.

(Corrodi) Beyträge zur Beförderung des vernünftigen Denkens in der Religion, Frf. et L. 1780—1802. XX. 8.

Theologisches Journal für ächte Protestanten, herausg. von I. H. Bremi, I. B. 1. St. Zür. 1802, 8.

H. A. Grimm et L. Ph. Muzel Stromata, eine Unterhaltungsschrift für Theologen, Duisb. 1787. f.

I. F. Flatt Magazin für christl. Dogmatik und Moral, etc. Tüb. 1796—1802. VIII. 8.

(S. Bloch) Theologen. Erster B. 1, 2. Heft. Odensee, 1791. 8.

I. C. W. Augusti theolog. Blätter, oder Nachrichten, Anfragen und Bemerkungen theol. Inhalts, Gothæ 1797. f. II. 8. Ejusd. Neue theol. Blätter 1798. f. III. 8. Ejusd. theologische Monatsschrift I, II. Jahrgang. (4 vol., quodque 6. fasc. constans) ib. 1802. et 1802.

Archiv zur Vervollkommnung des Bibelstudiums, herausgegeben von I. L. W. Seherer, 1. Bandes 1. St. Alt. 1801. 8.

Der Schriftforscher zur Belebung eines gründl. Bibelstudiums und Verbreitung der reinen, verschönernden Religion, herausgeg. von I. L. W. Seherer. Weim. 1803. 1. St.

Theologisch-praktische Monatsschrift, herausg. in Linz von einer Gesellschaft. Erster Jahrgang 1802.

Praktisch. theol. Magazin für kathol. Geistliche, herausg. von D. Mich. Feder, I. B. 1, 2, 3. St. Nbg. 1798—1800.

Repertorium für Fädrelandets Religionslärere. (5. fasciculi, Havn. 1797. 8.)

Commentaries and Essays publ. by the Society for promoting the knowledge of the Scriptures; Lond. Vol. I. 1784. II. 87. 8.



*D. C. Van Vorst* Vitledkundig en godgeleerd Magazin, Leyd. inde ad a. 1788. 4.

*I. D. Michaelis* Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek, Frf. a. M. 1771—1789. XXIV. 8. Neue orient. und exeget. Bibliothek, Gött. 1786—93. IX. 8. (ultima volumina eura Th. Chr. Tychsenii.)

*I. Gf. Eichhorn* Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur. L. 1787—1801. X. 8. (quodque vol. senis partt.)

Neues theologisches Journal herausgegeben von *H. K. Al. Hanlein* und *Chph. F. Ammon* (inde a V. Vol. *Paulo* socio, inde ab Vol. XII. edente *I. Ph. Gablero*, unde etiam sub. tit. *Neustes theol. Journal*, herausg. von *Gabler*.) Norimb. 1793—1801. XVII. 8.

*Journal für theolog. Litt ratur*, herausgegeben von *D. Joh. Ph. Gabler*, Norimb. 1801. f. IV. 8. (etiam sub tit. *Neuestes theol. Journal*, Vol. VII. et seqq.)

B. Exegetical observations on different passages.

*Observationes selectæ in varia loca N. Test. sive Laur. Ramiresii de Prado* *Pentecontarchus*, *Alex. Mori* in *N. Fœd. Notæ et Pet. Possini* *Spieil. Evangelicum*—c. præf. *Jo. Alb. Fabricii*, Hamb. 1712. 8.

*Corn. Adami* *Observatt. theol. philologicæ quibus loca S. Cod., N. præsertim Fœd., illustrantur*. Gron. 1710. 4. *EjUSD. Exereitationes exergeticæ*—Acc. *Scholia ad X. loca Aet. App.* Gron. 1712. 4.

*Jo. Henr. Maii* *Observatt. Sacrarum ad diversa utriusque Test. loca Liber I. ed. 2. auctior.* Frf. 1716. *Liber II. ed. 2. auct. 1722.* *Liber III. 1714.* *Liber IV. Subiicitur Specimen Supplem. Thes. Gr. L. Henr. Stephani* 1715. 8.

*Ge. Lud. Oederi* *Animadversiones Sacræ*, Brunsu. 1747. 8.

*Jo. Lund.* *Spieilegium enehiridii exegetiei in Nov. Test. ceu talis deinceps edendi Specimina.*, Havn. et L. 1802. 8.

*I. Gurlitt* Lectionum in N. T. Specimen I, II., Magd. 1797, 1800. 4.

*Theod. Fr. Stange* theologische Symmikka. Hal. 1802. II. 8.

*P. H. Hane* Schriffterklärungen. Voran eine Abh. von der Metaphor in Ascet. Vorträgen., Schwer. 1788. 8. Erste Fortsetzung. 1790. 8.

*C. Ch. L. Schmidt* Exegetische Beyträge zu den Schriften des N. Bund. Frf. a. M. 1791. ss. II. 8. (quod-bue vol. 6. Partt.)

C. Exegetical Dissertation.

Gründliche Auszüge aus den neuesten theolog. etc. Disputationen, L. 1733—40. VIII. 8.

*M. Jac. Frid. Wildeshausen* Bibliotheca Disputatt. theoll. philoll. in V. et N. T.—editio priori auctior. Hamb. 1710. 4.

*C. H. Schereligii* Bibliotheca dispp.—in V. et N. Test. Hamb. 1736. s. III. 4.

Thesaurus theol. philol. s. Sylloge diss. elegantiorum ad—V. et N. T. loca a Theoll. Protest. in Germania conscriptarum, Amst. 1701. s. II. fol.

Thesaurus novus theol. philol. s. Sylloge diss. exegett. ex museo *Theod. Hasaei* et *Conr. Ikenii*, L. B. 1732. II. f.

*Conr. Ekenii* Dissertatt. phil. theoll. in diversa sacri cod. utriusque instrum. loca—L. B, 1749. 4.

*I. Oelrichs* Belgii litterati Opuscula hist. phil. theoll. Brem. 1774. II. 8. Ejusd. Daniæ et Sueciæ litteratæ Opuscula—ib. eod. II. 8. Ei. Germaniæ lit. Opuscula theoll. Brem. 1772—74. II. 8.

Commentationes theologicae editæ a *I. C. Velthusen*, *C. Th. Kuinoel* et *G. A. Ruperti*, L. 1794—99. VI. 8. Commentationum theoll. sex voluminibus editarum Spicilegium ad usus synodales continuatum a *I. C. Velthusen*. Fascic. I. Brem. 1802. 8.

Sylloge Commentationum theologg. edita a *Dav. Iul. Pott* et *Geo. Alex. Ruperti*, Helmst. 1800—2. III. 8.

*H. Muentinghe* Sylloge Opusculorum ad doctrinam sacram pertinentium. L. B. 1791. 93. II. 8.

*I. L. Moshemii* diss. ad sanctiores disciplinas pertinentium Syntagma, L. 1733. 4.

*I. G. Altmanni* Meletemata Philologico-critica. Trai. ad Rh. 1753. III. 4.

*I. A. Ernesti* Opuscula theologica. Ed. secunda auctior, L. 1792. 8. (Prima 1773, accesserunt nunc 10, Commentt.)

*I. A. Noesselt* Opuscula ad interpretationem SS. SS.

*C. G. Storr* Opuscula academica ad interpret. LL. SS. pertinentia. Tub. 1796.

*S. F. N. Mori* Dissertationes theologicae et philologicae. Vol. I. L. 1787, II. 1794. 8.

Etiam *Doederlini*, *Seileri*, *Ammonii*, *Greenii*, *Heilmanni*, *Frommani*, *Niemeyeri*, *Gehii*, *Schulzii*, *I. D. Michaelis*, Opuscula, *Camereri* (kritische Versuche) *Henkii* (Opuscula academica theolog. potissimum argumenti. L. 1802. 8.) huc pertinent.

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## PART II.

### PRECEPTS FOR PROPERLY EXPLAINING THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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I. As it is the great object of the interpreter, that those for whom he interprets any work should clearly perceive the meaning of all its parts; it is not sufficient that he himself should understand his author; he must exhibit his meaning to others in perspicuous and appropriate language.

It is necessary, therefore,

1. That he should use the greatest diligence in explaining the signification of words, and avoid that levity, or carelessness, by which many things are overlooked.

2. That he should employ all his acumen, in distinctly conceiving and clearly expressing the true sense.

3. The greatest care is requisite, in exhibiting the connexion of the discourse, and in explaining the nature of the arguments and of the subjects.

4. That peculiar art should be studied, by which the interpreter teaches his readers to discover the meaning themselves.

5. He should choose those words which most exactly correspond to those of his author.

6. When many words are used in the same general sense, he should select the most definite and perspicuous.

7. He should not only exhibit the true sense, but also explain how that sense came to be attached to the words in that particular place, and exhibit the grounds or reasons of it.

II. The diversity in the objects of commentators, produces a corresponding diversity in the method of exposition, and gives rise to *Scholia*, *Perpetual Annotations*, *Commentaries*, *Observations* upon particular passages. From the different objects of these several methods of exposition, can be easily understood what is required in each, and what attention is to be given to the explanation of words, and what to the subject matter.

The interpreter should determine what method of interpretation he intends to pursue, and should adhere to it.

*Scholia* contain brief expositions of the meaning of words and phrases, and of the subject treated, without ex-

hibiting the grounds of the exposition. They have the advantage of leading the reader more directly to the sense. *Perpetual Annotations* illustrate every thing, omitting no passage nor subject, exhibiting a summary of observations and discussions on the author. *Commentaries* enter into the business of explanation, more fully, and subtly, and with greater apparatus of learning. The subjects are more copiously examined and explained, and more numerous illustrations adduced. They are designed for more advanced students, and for interpreters themselves. Books of *Observations* upon particular passages, are more extended in their interpretations, than it is possible for commentaries to be ; they embrace the materials which belong to all the other classes.

III. A peculiar and important method of exposition is that of *versions* and *paraphrases*. Neither can be properly executed unless their authors have previously mastered the book or passage they intend to translate or paraphrase, and are well versed in the language into which the translation is made. Versions of different books, and with different designs, should not all be conducted upon the same plan.

A *translation* is the rendering fully, perspicuously, and faithfully the words and ideas of an author into a different language from that which he used. A *paraphrase* is the expression, in greater extent, of the meaning of the author, where what is necessary to explain the connexion, and exhibit the sense, is inserted. The utility of both is great, but neither can supercede the necessity of more extended and minute interpretation.

A version should be, 1. correct ; 2. faithful, in expressing the precise manner in which the idea is presented, the figures, the order, connexion, and mode of writing, yet

not always literal, and expressing word for word. 3. It should be accommodated to the idiom of the language the translator is using. 4. It should be perspicuous and flowing.

In reference to versions it may be enquired, 1. Under what circumstances may it be lawful to depart from the style and manner of the author? (there are words, figures, modes of construction, which cannot be literally expressed in a different language). 2. Whether the Hebraic construction is to be retained? It seems by no means proper that the peculiar manner of an ancient author should be entirely obliterated, much less that a different manner should be obtruded upon him. 3. Whether the technical terms which occur in the New Testament should be changed for others.

In a *paraphrase* it is required, 1. that all the ideas of the author, their connexion and order, be fully and clearly exhibited; 2. that nothing be inserted which the discourse of the author does not really contain; 3. that it be not too prolix; 4. that it be perspicuous and easy.

*J. J. Griesbach* über die verschiedenen Arten deutsch. Bibelübersetzungen, Repert. f. Bibl. und morg. Litt. VI.

*Hen. Gf. Reichardi* Tractatus gramm. theol. de adornanda N. Test. versione vere Latina—L. 1796. 8.

IV. The interpreter should be careful, not to transgress his own limits, and encroach upon the province of the critic, or theologian. Something, indeed, which strictly pertains to these departments, may be requisite, to the full understanding and exposition of the passage he may wish to explain; as far, therefore, as is requisite to attain this object, it may be proper for him to proceed.

As to the limits of the interpreter, it may be remarked, that his work is finished when we are taught, 1. what



the author thought, or said, 2. the manner in which he said it, 3. the sense in which, what he says, is to be understood.

The more ancient interpreters erred,

a. In mingling too many doctrinal discussions in their expositions, (cf. *J. A. Ernesti* Prælectt. in Ep. ad Hebr.)

b. In introducing too much of history and archæology, not immediately connected with the passage under consideration.

c. They investigated too exclusively the arguments of the Sacred Writers.

Modern commentators have erred, a. in too frequently and copiously disputing about the subjects, or the events of Scripture, b. and also in applying the passages they treated so extensively to morals. For although the methods of exposition may be different, as authors have different objects in view, yet the office of the interpreter, the critic, the theologian, and the popular teacher, should never be confounded.

In order to become skilled in interpreting the Sacred Volume, we must read with care the best examples or models of every class of interpreters, study the works which have been written on the interpretation both of the Old and New Testaments, and practise ourselves, not only in the exposition of the sacred, but also of profane writers.

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**C. CHS. TITTMANN,**

ON

**HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

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CHARLES CHRISTIAN TITTMANN, the author of the following article, was formerly Professor of Theology, at Witemberg, and afterwards Superintendent of the Diocese of Dresden. His principal Theological works, are, his *Opuscula Theologica*, published in 1803; his Edition of *Thalemann's* Latin Version of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, with the Acts of the Apostles; his *Tract de vestigiis Gnosticorum in N. T., frustra quæsitis*, Lip. 1773; and his *Meletemata Sacra*, or exegetical, critical, and doctrinal Commentary upon the Gospel of St. John. To this latter work are prefixed a Preface, which contains an exhibition of the principles of interpretation, on which he had formed his commentary, and Prolegomena, containing the usual subjects of preliminary discussion.

It is the former of these pieces which is here translated. We have denominated it from its subject, in preference to calling it a "Preface to St. John's Gospel," because it is of a more general character, than this title would lead the reader to suppose.

It will be perceived that the historical method of interpretation here reprobated, is the application of the doctrine of accommodation which has been mentioned on the 20th page of the preceding article, to the interpretation of the N. T. Perhaps few causes have operated more extensively and effectually, in promoting erroneous opinions than the prevalence of this doctrine. Its most active and successful promoter, was *J. S. Semler*, professor of Theology, at Halle. His *Apparatus* for the liberal interpretation of the N. T., and his *Apparatus* for the liberal interpretation of the Old Test., recommend the loosest principles in the exposition of the Sacred Volume. The writers upon this

doctrine are enumerated above, (p. 21.) An able refutation of Semler's Theory, may be found in *Storr's* Tract on the historical sense, contained in the first volume of his *Opuscula*. This Tract has been translated and published in this country by Mr. Gibbs.

The importance of this subject is very evident. It must be perceived that if the principle contended for be admitted, every one will be at liberty to assert, that any doctrine he may see fit to object to, is a mere accommodation to Jewish opinion. It is in this way that the existence and agency of Satan, the reality of demoniacal possessions, the expiatory character of Christ's sufferings, and many other important doctrines are explained away. Every individual's opinions, or what he calls his reason, is made the supreme judge on matters of religion. That this is really the case, will appear from the slightest inspection of the criteria which *Van Hemert*, one of the most systematic advocates of the doctrine, lays down to determine when, and how far this accommodation is to be admitted. "If any thing be taught which is contrary to reason, it is an accommodation, as for example, that Satan entered into any one. If there be a contradiction between two passages, as when it is said in one passage, if a sinner repent of his sins, they shall no more be remembered; in another, that we are saved by Christ's death as an offering, that without shedding of blood there is no remission; we are to ask which is most accordant with reason, and consider the passage which is least so, an accommodation, and in this instance, it is the offering and the blood which are an accommodation to the notions of the Jews." The same supremacy of the previous and independent opinions of the author, above the SS. is evident through the work, and is indeed essential to the doctrine.

It may be presumed, that those who are interested in the history of the church, and especially in that department of its history which relates to christian doctrines,

must be desirous of knowing something of a controversy which has had so much influence. But it is not merely as a matter of history, that this subject calls for the attention of the American student. It is evident that this doctrine is only a modification of the theory, which determines the sense of SS., by deciding what is, or is not reasonable ; and which has as effectually excluded the doctrines of the Deity of Christ, and his atonement from the SS., because, they were deemed inconsistent with reason, as could have been done by the most skilful advocate for historical interpretation. It is in this view a matter of practical importance, that we understand the different forms under which the same general principle is presented ; and be prepared to show how inconsistent this whole system under all its modifications, is, with that strict and only legitimate method of interpretation, for which our author is so strenuous an advocate.



C. CHS. TITTMANN,

ON

## Historical Interpretation.

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The continuation and completion of those Dissertations upon the Gospel according to John, of which so much as relates to the first four chapters, was published by us thirteen years ago, has been a matter of long and frequent thought. To this labour we have not only been excited by the friends and patrons of Biblical Interpretation, but also allured by the daily study, and great admiration of the Sacred Volume. From early youth the perusal of the Scriptures has been in an eminent degree delightful; in their interpretation, we have spent the chief and the sweetest portion of life; and from experience can declare, that these pursuits can cherish youth, and sooth old age; give new ornament to prosperity, and afford a refuge and a solace amid the ills of life. And amongst all the Sacred Writings, this work of John has, in a special manner, gained our affection, and holds in our estimation an eminent place in the Inspired Volume. In this book, if any where, is Christ to be found; here we do not merely see him acting, but we hear him speaking, and in almost every instance, we may say, speaking of himself, his Father, and his decrees and purposes with respect to man's salvation. Whoever he be that would become acquainted with Jesus, and learn what and how great was his character, let him learn of John, let him peruse this book. And we confess, that an intention of making public a complete commenta-

ry upon the Gospel by John, was confirmed by observing so many things, from so many different hands, at the present time, written as comments upon this work, and yet most opposite, not only to the meaning of the Evangelist, and of Jesus himself, and to evangelical truth, but even to all historical verity, and thus in a high degree injurious to our glorious Master ; and further, by the hope and earnest desire of adding something by means of which, the excellence of this Gospel, and the majesty of our Lord Jesus, and the grandeur of his work of salvation, might be vindicated from the aspersions of adversaries ; as well as that the meaning of the Gospel might be rendered more clear, and the faith of those who read confirmed.

In the interpretation of the Scriptures we have pursued, and shall ever pursue that mode, which those who have been most eminent in the criticism of classic authors, as well as of the Sacred Volume, and who have been most skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature, have ever esteemed the only true and legitimate method of interpretation, and above all others, worthy of a man of letters ; I speak of that which is denominated the grammatical mode of interpretation, which proposes, by the aid of extensive literary attainments, to investigate the precise sense of the words, by means of attending to the *usus loquendi* and other grammatical points, and when this sense has been determined, to express it in accordance with the idiom of any language, and confirming this sense by the fixed principles of grammar, to arrive, through the precise meaning of words, to the knowledge of things themselves.

Some may perhaps be disposed to denominate this the *Historical Method*, and to this the learned interpreter will not object. The most ancient interpreters, indeed, made use of this appellation, or, at least, spoke in high commendation of the *Historical sense of the Scriptures* ; yet it must be borne in mind that by this they did not mean to convey the idea that there was a grammatical in-

terpretation differing from the historical, or as they expressed themselves, that the literal sense was one, and the historical another, but rather to distinguish the historical sense from that which was *spiritual, moral, and mystical*, and which the interpreters of those days thought they could discover in the Scriptures ; they therefore made use of the denominations Grammatical and Historical as synonymous. And in this they were doubtless correct ; for Grammatical interpretation is for the most part Historical, inasmuch as it depends for its correctness upon the *usus loquendi*, which is a matter of history, and is deduced from the observations of Grammarians upon the signification of words and phrases, teaching what is the import of every expression, at every different period, in every science, with each particular author and nation, and in each specific connexion or passage ; all which are historical facts, which history only can teach us. Those, then, who assert that grammatical interpretation only is the true and legitimate method, are by no means to be understood as saying that the knowledge of historical facts is, in no instance, to be introduced as an auxiliary to interpretation. For who ever supposed that the Greek and Latin classics could be understood and explained without an extensive acquaintance with history ? Indeed it is common even for the grammatical interpreter to have recourse occasionally to facts, that he may learn the true power and import of words and phrases ; and this is necessary in doctrinal as well as historical discourses. That the latter must be explained historically, to the utter rejection of the mystical and allegorical interpretation, cannot admit of a doubt ; in consequence of which, MORTS, who is equally eminent in sacred and profane literature, has given to both the appellation of *Historical*, for the purpose of distinguishing them from the allegorical and mystic sense, in imitation of ancient interpreters. As it regards doctrinal passages, it has been denied by none, and indeed has received the

sanction of the most skilful grammatical interpreters, that in such cases, as the discourses of Jesus, that for instance with Nicodemus, as well as in the arguments of the Apostles concerning faith, justification, works, and many other subjects, recourse must be had to the history of those times, and the opinions of those men with whom the inspired men spoke, and in this way, and in no other, can the true meaning of the passages be evinced.

The grammatical interpreter will also concede what is urged by some of the most noted recent critics, that the Sacred Writers in communicating and expounding the principles of the gospel, so accommodated themselves to the genius of their age, as to use a style and language which they would not have used, had they written for different people, and at another time. It is an excellence in teachers, and what we are accustomed to expect from eminent masters, that they should accommodate themselves to their several pupils; yet we cannot too severely reprobate the sentiment hence deduced by some of our cotemporaries, that what we find thus communicated is not to be considered as pertaining to all christians, and that the doctrines thus revealed are by no means common, and necessary to every age, in such a manner as to be a perpetual rule of faith and practice.

Thus the whole argument of the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning the priesthood of Christ, and his comparison with Moses, Melchisedek, and the Aronic priests, was intended not for the whole body of christians at that day, but only for those who had been converted from Judaism: the Apostle could not have thus, with convenience, written to the Gentiles. This whole Epistle was inscribed to christians of the Jewish nation, whose minds were trained to an admiration of Moses and Aaron, whose eyes were dazzled by the pomp of the Sacrifices, the High Priest, and the whole Levitical service, to which they found nothing similar or equivalent in Christ,

nor any where in Christianity, either in the teachers or the rites of the religion, where all was unadorned and simple, and totally divested of splendid pageantry. It was in consequence of this change, that many, relinquishing the christian religion, reverted to Judaism. To guard against this danger, and for the confirmation of their minds, the Apostle composed this argument, and shews, first, that Jesus is far superior to Moses, whom they so much admired ; then, lest they should be swayed by the Pontifical dignity, that Christ in an infinite degree excels all their priests ; that they offered beasts in sacrifice, by which nothing real could be effected, since they did not obtain, but only signify the remission of sin—that he on the contrary, had given himself up to death for man, not that he might signify merely, but actually purchase their redemption ; that they were minister to one nation only, he, to the whole human race ; that they accomplished their work upon earth, he, also, in the heavens ; that they were serviceable for a short time, he, for ever and ever ; that they were mortal and liable to sin, he immortal and holy ; they were mere men, he, the Eternal Son God, most perfect, most glorious, *υἰὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον*. This discussion, therefore, was undertaken by the Apostle, for the use of Jewish converts, with a most wise design, and in consequence of their great necessity, and imminent peril. But he joins with this design, that of setting forth Jesus Christ, the author and giver of salvation, and of declaring the majesty of his person, and of that work, which was not completed upon this earth, but must throughout eternity, be going on in heaven. The peculiar mode of exhibiting these doctrines was adapted to the condition of those who had been Jews, but the truth which was conveyed under all this imagery is equally applicable to all men, in every age. As far as the manner of communication is concerned, the Sacred Writers accommodated themselves to the men of those days, and the wisdom and be-



nignity of God herein manifest ought to excite our admiration, but never did they make any accommodation with regard to the principles of the faith. So that it cannot hence be deduced that this discourse of the Apostle could have been profitable, only to christians of those times, and that nothing more is to be learnt from it, than that sacrifices are abrogated by the death of Christ, and are therefore useless ; since in this very work are contained principles altogether necessary and useful to all christians, and such as ought to be the rule of faith even unto the end of the world. Whether Theologians have acted wisely in explaining the work of Christ in redemption, by means of these figurative expressions, and using the words relating to the priesthood in treating of doctrinal points ; and whether it would not have been more proper to express by proper and perspicuous words those things which the Sacred Writers for wise purposes clothed in figurative language is another inquiry. It is the province of the grammatical interpreter, to discover in what instances the Sacred Writers have accommodated themselves to the genius of their age, as to the mode of discussion, and the import of figurative language, and thus by means of grammatical assistance to arrive at the true meaning of the doctrines thus exhibited.

It may further be remarked, that in cases of difficulty as to the *usus loquendi*, we must refer to certain subsidiary methods of interpretation, which have relation principally to the design and scope of the discourse. For while all legitimate interpretation is dependant upon an accurate knowledge of the *usus loquendi*, we must still in cases of this kind where facts are concerned be indebted to testimony. Now it sometimes happens, either that such testimony is entirely wanting, or is so unsatisfactory as to leave the meaning still doubtful ; as in the discourses of our Lord, in which he addresses his hearers in a dark and enigmatical manner ; as *Chap.* III, 14. VIII, 28. XII, 7,



32. or in which he has used figurative expressions which according to the *usus loquendi* have various significations ; which our Lord for wise purposes often did, as *Chap. VIII, 12. VI, 35. &c.* ; or in which certain words on account of the novelty of the subject are used with a new signification, which in a different connexion, or when used separately they could not have had. In cases of such necessity, we must have recourse to other aids instead of seeking for the *usus loquendi*. But even here the interpretation is grammatical, because these subsidiary methods of interpretation have been used by all Grammarians in criticisms upon every variety of writing ; and also because grammar is here authoritative, since every interpretation acquired by these means must be brought to the test of established modes of speech, and received or rejected, only as it is agreeable or repugnant to these.

It appears, therefore, that grammatical interpretation might with propriety be denominated also historical, understanding the same thing by both terms, and this with the full consent of the grammatical interpreter. We have thought it proper to make these remarks, since we have met with some, even at the present time, who have but a slight regard for grammatical interpretation, and suppose it to be nothing more than "the explanation of mere words, and not of things," as though it consisted solely in the knowledge of words, gathered in some way or other from various dictionaries. It is indeed true, that grammatical interpretation is properly conversant with the explication of words, but no less so of the opinions and things which are the subjects of those words ; it requires also, a knowledge of language not hastily picked up, but of the most accurate kind, matured by long use and much experience, varied and extensive erudition, and a familiarity with the history, opinions, pursuits, manners, and institutions of the Greeks and Romans as well as of the Jews.

There may be those who would distinguish between

the grammatical and the historical method of interpretation, yet this does by no means meet the approbation of one skilled in language, and experienced in the interpretation of Greek and Latin authors. The venerable *Keilius*, although he highly commends the historical mode, yet inveighs against the opinion of those who would distinguish between the two, and asserts that they have no difference, but are one and the same ; he thinks that the interpretation of the Sacred Volume, might with more propriety be denominated Grammatico-historical. Since its province is historical, namely to determine what were the sentiments of the Sacred penmen, and to cause the production of the same sentiments in the minds of the readers, and to avoid attaching to the Scriptures a meaning foreign from their true import ; and since he supposes that the name Grammatical interpretation, has become in a manner obsolete.

But with all deference to this most learned, and most revered man, we confess, that to us the term historical interpretation, has never yet appeared sufficiently accurate.

For, in the first place, Grammatical Interpretation itself, is chiefly concerned in the investigation of a historical fact, that is, in the inquiry how a certain word was used, and how it is to be explained in any particular passage of a writer. And further, what is it to interpret grammatically, but to teach what is the subject of every discourse, and to cause in others the same sentiments, with those of the author. Or how can it be determined what any writer has thought, and has wished his readers to think, except from the consideration of his words, and their explication according to the rules of grammar? And how shall we guard against the imposition of our own meaning upon the Scriptures, that is against so perverting the words of the Evangelists and Apostles, as to accommodate them to our own opinions, and to the support of sentiments contrary to celestial truth, unless it be by the use of gram-

matical interpretation? Into which most gross error of perverting the Scriptures, many philosophical and doctrinal interpreters have fallen, formerly and at the present time. The Grammatical Interpreters of the Bible, on the contrary, have been strenuous in inculcating the principle that we are bound to avoid the imposition of our own meaning upon the Scriptures. The new appellation, therefore, of historical interpretation seems altogether useless, since all those particulars, which it is supposed to convey, are embraced by the other, and since the phrase is ambiguous while the ancient name is by no means so, nor even obsolete as has been urged, but well defined and intelligible to all. And for what reason should the complex term historical-grammatical be used by those who suppose the two words entirely synonymous?

But the majority of those who commend the historical mode of interpretation, and teach that it is the only true method of explaining the Sacred Volume, distinguish it from the grammatical, and as far as we can gather, from their expositions, suppose its nature to be this. In interpreting the New Testament, say they for to this they have primary reference, it is not sufficient to discover the *usus loquendi*, and hence to determine the signification of words, but it is in the first place important to enter into a historical inquiry, as to the genius and spirit of the writer, and his knowledge of Divine things; the opinions of the age concerning religion, and the allied subjects; and finally the nature of the subject itself. From these sources is to be sought the meaning of the discourses uttered by Christ and his Apostles, and not from a literal interpretation of the words; our ideas of the words are rather to be obtained from a knowledge of the things themselves, than from the doctrines of grammar; since the doctrines of Jesus and his disciples are to be traced up to the notions and opinions of the Jews, the Jewish teachers, and other learned men of that day. From the discipline and instruction of

these, both Jesus and the Apostles derived their doctrine ; in these opinions they were nurtured, these they communicated in their discourses and their writings.

This they denominate history ; this is, in their opinion, before all other things to be consulted by their interpreter, and by this rule are to be expounded, not only historical passages, but also such as relate to doctrine, all the books of the New Testament, and the discourses of Jesus, those also in which are communicated the principles of faith, and precepts of morals ; according to this, the whole system of Christian doctrine is to be investigated, discovered, and explained, and its nature understood ; so that we are to inquire, not so much what Jesus and his Apostles thought or said in any passage or set of words, explained according to the analogy of language, as what they could, and ought to have thought and said, in accordance with the opinions of those times, and their own religious knowledge ; not what was the intention of Jesus in this or that discourse, but how the Jews who heard him may be supposed to have understood him ; not what was written by the Sacred Penmen, but whether what they wrote was true ; not what appeared true to them, but whether it is in itself worthy of belief, when brought to the test of sound reason ; not what they taught, but what the measure of light then in the world, and their own talents, enabled them to teach, and what they would have written under different circumstances, and at another time. This is about the sum of what is understood by the historical interpretation of the Sacred Book.

This, however, is a mode of interpretation altogether unexampled, deceptive, and fallacious, manifestly uncertain, and leading to consequences the most pernicious.

We call it unexampled. It is acknowledged, indeed, that the grammatical interpreters of sacred and profane writings, have universally concurred in asserting and teaching by their example, that great assistance is to be

derived in discovering the meaning of authors from the knowledge of history, and this we have ourselves maintained above, and amply exemplified in the subsequent Commentary. At the same time, there have been critics, who, in the words and phrases of the Scriptures, and particularly in those of John, have fancied that they could discover the philosophical notions of the Gnostics, of Philo, of Plato, and even of the Peripatetics and Stoics, and have hence attributed these to the Sacred Writers; and others, who, neglecting all verbal criticism, and ignorant or careless with regard to the *usus loquendi*, have expended their labour in the interpretation of the subjects themselves, rather than the words in which they were delivered, who would have words interpreted by philosophical tenets, and who may be said to have philosophized rather than expounded. Indeed, every one must know that such critics are to be found in every age. There are those, too, who, in the interpretation of the Scriptures, have set themselves up as judges of the doctrines contained in them, who admit nothing into their systems which cannot be understood and demonstrated by unaided reason, and thus insist that all religion is to be conformed to the dogmas of philosophy.

There have been examples too, of those who have disputed in a learned manner on the other side of the question, and have maintained that the true and legitimate use of reason is in explaining the Scriptures, in investigating, declaring, and proving their doctrines. But the position that Grammatical Interpretation is one thing, and Historical Interpretation another, is entirely unexampled. Let me appeal to those who have taken the lead, in our own times, in the interpretation of the Greek and Latin Classics, whether they suppose that there is a difference between the grammatical and historical modes of interpretation; whether they think that things rather than words, are to be consulted in interpretation, and that the inquiry is to be,



not what the literal meaning of the words leads us to suppose was said, but what could have been said in accordance with the opinions of those days, even in opposition to the prevailing modes of speech ; or what the author would have said in a different age and situation.

Let me inquire of them whether they suppose that the Greek and Latin Orators were indebted to their own genius for nothing, and uttered merely the doctrines and sentiments of the people at large ; whether the interpreter is entitled to the character of a judge, or whether any thing more falls within his province than the simple elucidation of every passage, and the communication to the reader's mind of the same ideas which occupied the mind of the writer. Will these men be willing to concur in the contemptuous opinions expressed concerning Grammatical Interpretation, as an art requiring nothing more than the mere knowledge of words, learnt from Dictionaries and Grammars, and conversant merely with the explication of words. All enlightened Interpreters of the Scriptures, will concur in the opinion that the interpretation of the Bible is to be conducted upon the same principles with that of the profane writers. Can it be supposed that in the interpretation of the Sacred Volume, a historical mode is to be observed, differing from that which is called grammatical, and altogether unknown in Classical Criticism? Or does the scholar who interprets the Profane Authors, inquire into what is true, and how correct the statements of his author are? By no means; his sole aim is the discovery of the idea contained in the words, when faithfully explained. The truth or falsehood of the proposition is entirely a different question. A thing may be true in itself, and yet not to be found there expressed, while on the other hand, what may appear altogether false, may be actually contained in the words. How many opinions may be found expressed in human writings, which are entirely untrue, and which still admit of a correct interpretation? With



even greater reason, then, we should make it our sole object in the criticism of the Scriptures which we acknowledge as divine and therefore most true, to discover what is actually revealed. All those who have pursued this legitimate method of interpreting the classics, have made it their practice, to inquire, first, what is actually said, and then, if they choose, into its causes and reasons, which, if they could not discover, they do not for this reason reject the whole which would be preposterous, but with modesty acknowledge the obscurity of the subject, or the limited nature of their faculties. Thus also all those who have excelled in the interpretation of the Scriptures, when they have once become satisfied as to their divine origin, have thought that their inquiries were reduced to the simple question of what meaning was naturally conveyed by the words when rightly understood; which meaning they have supposed it their duty to embrace as true and of divine origin, and not to be rejected or vehemently assailed because its nature and causes were beyond their reach; but here, as in all such cases, they have esteemed it the greatest wisdom to put confidence in the declaration of God,  $\delta\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\ \delta\delta\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\nu\ \tau\omega\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ . And here we find that genuine independence of soul, which is so happily attempered as to be equally remote from a rash licentiousness, and arrogant levity, as from a stupid and timorous subjection, examining both the Scriptures themselves, and the things contained in them, explaining and comparing them among themselves, reconciling such passages as seem contradictory, elucidating those which are ambiguous and obscure by such as are clear, confirming all by suitable arguments; and yet adding nothing in an arbitrary manner, advancing nothing in opposition to the doctrine, but treating such subjects as are manifestly presented, and by the mode of treatment converting them to practical use; and all this with perfect freedom from the shackles of human opinion, or personal affection, having reference simply to the strict in-

terpretation of the text, and not at all to the will of any man, without improper self indulgence, or using this liberty for a cloak of maliciousness ; but while maintaining, as to men, an entire freedom, still acting ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοισι Θεοῦ, preserving, in all cases, that modesty and meekness which the gravity of the subject, and the dignity of the church demand. The remark of Luther is most just, *Etiam vera loqui cum timore oportet in ecclesia Dei.*

Again, this mode of interpretation is defective, and, in the highest degree, fallacious. Relying, as it does, upon the knowledge of things rather than of words, it requires neither a profound skill in languages, nor intense application, nor a mind thoroughly disciplined by long exercise in the explication of profane writers. For this reason, it is embraced with avidity by persons of an impetuous and impatient spirit, who are deluded by its ease, and by the shew of acuteness and subtlety with which their vanity is flattered. The appetite for what is imaginary, springs up without restraint in consequence of our love of novelty, when the mind is not chastised by the discipline of letters ; nor is this strengthened in any way so certainly, as by the ignorance, neglect, and contempt of language, nor repressed more surely by any thing than by this discipline. And, indeed, the experience of every age has shewn, that where the interpretation of the Scriptures has been made to rest principally upon the knowledge of things to the neglect of words, there literature has been either unknown or uncultivated, and verbal criticism has been contemned as being barren, minute, and of little value, and has been denominated *literal*, as if it had reference to nothing more than words, syllables, and letters, together with trivial observations upon phrases and single expressions, without the consideration of the things represented. And the more the study of languages falls into disrepute, the more deceptive and fallacious will this mode of interpretation appear.

It is, moreover, evidently uncertain. For without an accurate knowledge of words, the knowledge of the things themselves, must, of necessity, be vague and fluctuating. The wisest men have ever supposed that all our knowledge and particularly that of facts and sciences, is arrived at by the knowledge of words, and not this from the facts and sciences themselves, and that whatever is certain and undoubted in any department of knowledge, owes this quality from the necessary union of ideas with words, and the fixed and received usage of language. If this is universally true, it is most evident that in the interpretation of all books whatever, every thing is dependent upon the knowledge of words, that is, upon the knowledge of what idea is to be annexed to every word, which is only to be acquired by an acquaintance with the *usus loquendi*. And the latter can be attained in no other way, as it regards the meaning of words and phrases used by various authors in languages which are now dead, than by grammatical observations concerning the signification of words, and other modes of discovering the sense, which are peculiar to grammar. Whence it happens, first, that the grammatical interpretation of sacred as well as profane books, is the only mode which is certain and safe, and, of course, true and legitimate, because it is dependent upon the knowledge of words, and the necessary connexion of ideas with words, and the received and definite usages of language; which *safety* of interpretation is in a high degree important, and is no where afforded by the historical mode, nor can be, since the latter relies on no such necessary connexion, nor on the investigation of words, but on the nature of things themselves, as this can be discovered by reasoning or conjecture. So that we observe a number of critics who judge of doctrines revealed in certain passages of the New Testament, which they are equally unable to comprehend or explain, and who owe this boldness entirely to their ignorance of language and grammatical interpretation.

This mode of interpretation is finally dangerous and pernicious to Divine Truth. For as soon as we leave verbal criticism, and begin to inquire, not what was said, but what should have been said judging from previous notions, and whether what is said is true, or can be reconciled with the dictates of reason, that is to say of a recent philosophy; we then bring truth to the test of man's inconstant judgment, and give to the ignorance and wantonness of every one, full license to frame at will, new opinions, and to pervert the Scriptures in opposition to all the rules of grammar, and in accordance with preconceived and false principles. Whence it is easy to see into what peril the truth is thrown by the perversity of the human mind, and this rage for innovation, and of reducing those things which are matters of Divine inspiration to the level of human capacity, and how many and how great are the injuries to which Christian doctrine has been subjected by the ignorance or neglect of literature and grammatical interpretation—injuries from which the church has not recovered even to this day.

But what is it which the wise men of our day suppose that they have gained by this historical mode of criticism? We may find an answer in their own words, where it is declared, that the principles delivered by Jesus and the Apostles as to faith and morals, are to be considered as merely historical, or only important in the light of history, and not as doctrinal representations, that is to say, as containing the peculiar opinions of Jesus and the Apostles, not eternal and absolute truth; mutable deductions of reason, and temporary institutions pertaining to the men of those days, and probably useful to them, but by no means necessary, or unchangeable and common to all men; a rule of faith and action which was temporary, and not so certain as to be extended to all the race of future men. Whatever therefore is discovered by means of historical interpretation, is to be viewed as a point of history, and even

christian doctrine is nothing else than an exhibition of what Jesus and the Apostles believed, what they taught to the men of those days, and what they wished to be known and believed at that time, not what is to be known and believed by all men of every age. Jesus, say they, was neither desirous, nor had he the power to communicate and reveal a system of doctrine which should be a rule of faith and practice, for future ages, which was to be the means of salvation to succeeding generations, and which was to be embraced and believed by all who aspired to eternal life. It was, indeed, the Divine purpose, to manifest by Jesus Christ, certain principles necessary to be known and believed by all ; but this purpose was unknown to Jesus himself. As to the Apostles, they understood and taught still less, and never even imagined that the doctrines which they propagated, were to be a perpetual rule of faith and life; they never even dreamed of what they denominated *συντέλειαν τῆς αἰῶνος*, a return of Christ soon to take place, an earthly kingdom to be instituted *ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and other things of a similar kind ; so that Christ in his teaching had not respect to the men of succeeding generations. His system pertained entirely to the men of his own age, and especially to the Jews ; to their prejudices Jesus accommodated himself, in accordance with these he addressed them, and by the aid of these are his doctrines to be explained, and judgment to be formed as to their truth or falsehood. Nor did he in every case, according to the opinion of these critics, teach what was true and worthy of credence, so that his doctrine does not contain, as is sometimes supposed, a Divine revelation, or any thing more than a system of Jewish philosophy ; for the origin of Christ's doctrine and knowledge concerning Divine things is to be sought in history ; that is, from the doctrines of the Jewish teachers and other sages from whose instruction and conversation he derived his wisdom, and received the improvement of his mind ; in consequence of which,



he was ignorant of many things, and fell into errors, and hence transmitted these errors not only to the populace, but to his disciples, and through them to the whole Christian Church ; which errors were overruled by Divine wisdom for the good of those times. The doctrines, then, of Christ and his Apostles are to be regarded as true, not because they are contained in the Sacred Volume, but only so far as they are in themselves true, or in other words, agreeable to the conclusions of reason. Nor are the doctrines of the Scriptures to be received without exception as certain and necessary principles of religion, as is commonly thought, since many of them are uncertain, unnecessary, and of a temporary nature ; and as to the Divine origin and authority of the Sacred Writings, they are by no means to be regarded by the historical interpreter. It rests with historical interpretation to determine, finally, whether the doctrines there contained are to be esteemed of Divine origin, worthy of their author, as language from heaven ; whatever is not recognized as Divine truth by the historical interpreter, is not to be viewed as such ; nor are we to suppose that the Sacred Writers were altogether free from error, since it is held by these critics that they could in many instances go astray. The Scriptures in general, and the accounts given by the Evangelists in particular, are to be regarded as of doubtful origin and authority. The Gospel according to John, especially, is not the writing of John himself, but a compilation by some other hand, from certain notes and fragments of John's composition, which were selected accordingly as they were suitable to the design of the compiler ; for which reason it is denominated τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον, because it was composed of certain narrations of John concerning Christ ! It was, however, written according to the principles of the Jewish and Alexandrian philosophy, and contains neither the pure doctrines of Jesus, nor even a true history, but a species of Judaico-Alexandrian theology, inter-



mixed with a multitude of fables. The connexion of facts is injudicious, the opinions obscure, confused, and imperfect, the style rough, barbarous, and not even grammatical, so that many passages have either no meaning, or one which involves absurdities; all which circumstances render the interpretation of the book a hopeless task. These are what the defenders of the historical, or grammatico-historical mode of interpretation pretend to have discovered.

If these things were true, we might at once relinquish all argument concerning the Divine legation and doctrine of Jesus, the legitimate mode of interpretation, the Christian religion, and all religion whatever. Who, then, is Christ, what his work, and his merit, in purchasing the redemption of man, if he is not the teacher of Divine and eternal truth, worthy of all belief, and delegated by God? What are we to consider the doctrine of Christ, if he did not derive it from God, but learned it from the teachers of his own age, or discovered it by his own efforts, and delivered it merely to his own countrymen? What was his advent into this world, his death, his resurrection, what his ascension into heaven and his seat at the right hand of the Father, in all which we have supposed that a foundation was laid for our hope of eternal salvation, if neither his doctrine, nor that of the Apostles is worthy of belief? What means the economy of salvation through faith in Christ, in which, according to the Apostle, are made manifest the infinite grace and mercy of God and his boundless wisdom, for the admiration of future ages, if all that Jesus taught and commanded was but of a temporary nature? What are we to think of the miracles of Jesus, to which he made such constant appeals, as the indubitable marks of his Divine legation, if they are to be distorted into mere allegories, according to the mad notion of Woolston, or what is worse, are referred to the mere agency of natural causes, by which Christ deceived the people, or

at least suffered them to be deceived? What is the evangelical history which we suppose to be the basis of religion and Christian faith, if it contains fictions, and "old wives fables?" What are the Holy Scriptures, which the students of evangelical truth profess and believe to contain the true, and only unerring rule of faith and practice, if the Sacred Writers have delivered to us, not the Divine messages, but the speculations of themselves and others; and if what they delivered is not for this very reason to be received as Divine and true, but only so far as human reason acknowledges them to be so? What is the interpretation of the Scriptures, if it rests not on words but things, not on the aids of language, but the dogmas of a new-fangled philosophy? What is religion in general, and what the knowledge of Divine things, and faith and hope in Christ, and the whole system of Christianity, if human reason and philosophy are the only fountain of Divine wisdom, and the supreme tribunal in matters of religion? What is the system of Christ and his Apostles more than any other system of philosophy? What is it, but to deny the Lord Jesus, to load him with blasphemies, to render doubtful, even vain and empty, his Divine mission, to assail his doctrine, to debase, and curtail, and ridicule it, and, as far as possible, to suppress all Christianity, and remove it from the world, to make a laughing-stock of the miracles and cover them with infamy, to pervert the Scriptures till they are consistent with the level of human wisdom, to corrupt them by conjectures, draw them into contempt, impugn their Divine authority, and to attack, shake, and utterly subvert the grounds of Christian faith. And these things being so, how can that fail to occur, which all history (the safest witness upon this point) assures us must occur, that the Scriptures and all grammatical criticism being despised and almost proscribed, as well as the study of the languages, religion itself should fall into contempt, be assailed, corrupted, undermined, over-

whelmed, and degraded to mere natural religion, or revert to mystical theology, than which nothing was ever more injurious to the interests of Christian doctrine, and be converted into an empty mythology; or poetic fiction. Towards this very extreme, a number of our Theologians and public speakers appear at this very time to be verging, delighting in the shadows of tropes and figures, and the images of sensible objects, and fictions of the imagination, in a manner not unlike that of the ancient Mystics and Fanatics, so well known in this nation, by which means, while they endeavour to render the principles of the faith more acceptable to human reason, deceive themselves as well as others. Then, too, we may expect to behold the Christian church desolated by the irruption of a crude ignorance of Divine things, a dreadful barbarity, and their never failing attendants, foul superstition and visionary doctrines of every kind and degree. *Evangelium amittimus*, was frequently said by those men who so greatly conduced to its restoration, *Evangelium amittimus, si literas amiserimus*, and such, we may add, must be the result, if we lose that mode of interpretation which is dependent on the aid of sound learning. It is certainly worthy of remark, and has even been conceded by a defender of Rationalism (*horribile vocabulum horribilior res!*) that the advocates of the historical mode of interpretation, are also the most earnest asserters of the system Rationalism.

The most learned men of every period have supposed that the mode of interpretation which is founded upon a just and accurate knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin literature, upon the principles of grammar, and other aids of this kind, is the only true and certain mode, and the only one adapted to the acquisition and defence of the truth; and this mode, they have supposed, could in no way be so easily learnt as from those who have been engaged in the criticism of the Greek and Latin classics; these,

they say, are to be consulted in the first instance, by all who address themselves to the interpretation of the scriptures, and that strict mode is to be held up as a model which has been adopted by those, who in the explication of human compositions, have acted with reverence, diligence, and modesty, and who have carefully brought all things to the test of grammatical principles and correct observation, and have rejected every interpretation which was inconsistent with the usage of language, and have been more ready to confess their ignorance of the subjects or expressions, than to indulge in the vituperation of the author, or to violate the genius of the language, and who have made it their earnest endeavour to reconcile with truth and the received forms of speech such things as have appeared inconsistent with truth, or the common peculiarities of style and language. For whatever respect we pay to the writings of men, is certainly due in a much higher degree to the Sacred Writings, to which have been attributed Divine authority, for so many ages. These men likewise earnestly dissuaded from the licentiousness, levity, and temerity of those who are ever ready to correct, to curtail, to reject, and to impugn in a most irreverent manner, the Holy Scriptures, and who in dealing with them have used an audacity and arrogance, which is unknown in the interpretation of the most inconsiderable volume; so that whenever any thing has occurred which they were unable to understand, and which has seemed discordant with the doctrines of some recent system of philosophy, they have not been content with rejecting this by itself, but have made it an occasion for holding up to contempt the whole Sacred Volume; which is to mock and betray, rather than to defend the truth.

The most learned and the wisest scholars have ever thought, that the wisdom of this present state is imperfect whilst *we know in part*; and have been correct in inculcating by example as well as precept the duty incumbent,

upon every christian, and especially upon every Theologian and Biblical Critic, to investigate the secret things of Divine wisdom with a devout spirit, and whenever any thing is declared in explicit terms, to receive it with confidence, and to use our exertions that others may accommodate their faith and practice to its demands ; and by no means to examine into its particular causes, and, when these are beyond our reach, to pass a hasty judgment, and impiously reject the truth ; nor by showing contempt for the commandments of God, to grow proud in our own wisdom, and by our wisdom to perish, which is the *Morbis Sapientiæ* of Pliny, by which not a few are destroyed, φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν.

It is not for us to arrogate to ourselves knowledge which does not fall to the lot of children and learners, and which requires a maturity of age and experience which we need not expect to attain in this life ; but rather to follow the directions of the Apostle, who teaches, that if it is right to yield our faith and obedience to those whose reasons we are unable to understand, because their love and prudence have ever been exercised in our favour, much more is it proper to “ be in subjection unto the Father of Spirits, and live.” Heb. xii, 9.

And this diligence, care, modesty, forbearance, and devotion we have always approved, during a series of years spent in the interpretation of the Scriptures ; and although many other excellencies may be wanting, yet this we flatter ourselves may be attributed to our present Commentary.

The method which we have pursued has been this ; we have written the whole work in an unbroken series, so that in every instance we might be enabled to point out the connexion of the discourse, explain difficult and ambiguous passages, illustrate things and the notions of things by definitions or synonymes, interpreting the more difficult words by others more intelligible, the rare by those



which are more obvious, the figurative by literal expressions, and always in correct language.

The book under consideration was written by John, for the purpose of illustrating the glory of the Lord Jesus. With the same design we have undertaken this Commentary, encouraged by this hope, that, if possible, we might contribute something towards the understanding and more accurate explication of this book, and also to the more satisfactory knowledge of Christ's excellencies and benefits in their extent and grandeur, to the devout admiration of his attributes, and the confirmation of the reader's faith, which hope, may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is over all, blessed forever, graciously cause to be realized. This is our true and ardent prayer.

*Dresden, April, 1816.*





HENRICUS EHRENFRIED WARNEKROS,

ON THE

**Fertility of Palestine,**

AND ITS PRINCIPAL ADVANTAGES, COMPARED WITH THOSE

OF

**EGYPT.**

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§ I. *Moses calls Palestine fruitful.*

IN treating of the fertility of Palestine and its principal advantages, by the word Palestine I mean not only the region in the vicinity of Jerusalem, but Palestine properly so called, situated on this side of the Jordan. Moses, the leader of the Israelites, to whose posterity God was about to give this country for a habitation, describes it as being very fertile. And his testimony is corroborated by *Shaw*, *Maundrell*, and many other modern travellers, who have visited it. This description of Moses has, however, without any reason, been made a matter of ridicule. And why? The enemies of religion, instigated by a vain and impious audacity, have represented Moses as a man destitute of understanding and regardless of truth, whilst they have strenuously affirmed that Palestine was sterile and uninviting. These unprincipled men, who would wish, if they cannot overthrow the truth of Sacred Scripture, at least to invalidate it as much as possible, inveigh against no writer more vehemently, than against Moses, rejecting his

whole history, and all the miracles wrought by him, as false and absurd. We could blunt their opposing weapons, but to follow out all the windings of their fallacious arguments would be a useless labour; for it is impossible, and not to be credited that Moses could have possessed such inconceivable assurance as to speak of actions and miracles, as performed by him before their eyes, if they were not true. Surely he would have exhibited all the symptoms of derangement, and the people having detected his deceit and misrepresentation, would have withdrawn their confidence from him, and would have committed his writings to the flames. If we consider the situation and condition of Moses, it will appear manifest, that a false description of Palestine, would have been most pernicious to him: for he delayed in the vicinity of that land with an immense multitude of men, and therefore it would have been the greatest imprudence, to have represented it in glowing colours, as surpassing other countries in fertility and abundance of all productions, if it had not been the fact; especially considering that the people were rough and uncultivated, rebellious and inclined to seditions, and on every trivial occasion that offered itself, desirous of returning to Egypt. But the spies that were sent before them, brought back the same description, and exhibited as a proof the rich productions of the land. The number of the Israelites is minutely stated by Moses in different places:\* which places, if they be compared, will be found to contain the same amount; whence I infer that the same census is alluded to in all those places, although others entertain a different opinion. Indeed it seems incredible, that the number of so great a people should neither be increased nor diminished within the space of a year; but it is worthy of notice that the taking of the census of so large a multitude must have consumed much time as each name was written down. In the first year then the tables were made out by the rulers

\* Exod. xxx. 15, 16; xxxviii. 24, 31; et Num. I. 1.

of hundreds and of tens, which the priests reviewed in the second year, and made more complete by adding the age and lineage of each one. Then from the tables completed by this new survey a larger book was formed, in which each one was numbered as living, although he might have died during the preceding year. The number was 603,550, excluding the infants, the youth who had not reached their twentieth year, all the women, the servants, and the whole tribe of Levi. The number of the Levites was 22,300, which added to the former number will make the sum of 625,850; and if to this we add the infants and the females, and the servants, which would probably increase it four-fold, the whole amount will be 2,503,400. Therefore if the new habitation of the Israelites had been unfruitful, it could by no means have supported so large a multitude. Beside, Moses placed the foundation of his republick in agriculture which he could not by any means have done, had not the land been fertile. Each one of the Israelites received a portion of land as his private property, which was left to his posterity, and which it was wrong to sell; for all the support of the Israelites, as long as they dwelt in the land, was derived from pasturage and agriculture. God\* himself describes this region as “A good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey.” Moses† also gives the same description when the camp was in the neighbourhood of Jericho; the Lord, says he, will bring you into a good land, a land of rivers and of fountains, in whose plains and mountains, streams flow forth; a land of corn, barley, and vineyards, in which the fig-tree and pomegranate and olive-tree grow, a land of olives and honey. It is preferred to Egypt:‡ “For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from which ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot as a garden of herbs; but the land whither

\* Exod. iii. 8.

† Deut. xi. 10.

‡ Deut. xi. 10.

ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys and drinketh water of the rain of heaven." Finally, Moses celebrates the fertility of Palestine in a song to be sung by the Israelites in this land.\*

"The Lord," says he, "made him to ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock and oil out of the flinty rock; butter of kine and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink of the pure blood of the grape."

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## § II. *The advantages of Palestine when compared with Egypt.*

The testimony of Moses† has appeared incredible to many; whence, they say, they have been compelled to regard his representations as false, when he extols the land of Palestine in the highest praises, and describes it as abounding with superior privileges, because it is watered with rain from heaven and running streams, whilst Egypt is watered only by the overflowings of the Nile. But to this we may add that Palestine possesses the most delightful climate, having neither too great nor too small a quantity of rain. ABULFEDA divides the different countries into the *salubres*, that is, those which are irrigated by rain, and the *insalubres*, that is, those which are inundated by rivers. And no one will venture a denial, that in this respect Palestine enjoys advantages far surpassing those of Egypt. BARTHOLINUS on the properties of water says,‡ that rain water is in itself transparent, clear, subtile, light,

\* Deut. xxxii. 13. Conf. Exod. xiii. 5, xxiii. 1. Lev. xx. 24. Num. xiii. 27, xiv. 7, 8. Jos. xxiii. 14, xxiv. 13. Ps. cvi. 24. Neh. ix. 35. Jer. xi. 5. Ezech. xx. 6. Joel. ii. 3. *Basnage's histoire des Juifs*, lib. i. c. 14. § 9. p. 356.

† Deut. xi. 10.

‡ Lib. xiii. p. 555

and savoury; that its clearness indicates that there is no foreign admixture with it, and its lightness and sapidity show that it is a subtile substance. He, adds that of all kinds of water it is most productive of fertility, and especially when it falls with thunder, for the thunder by its motion scatters the vapour and makes the water thin and pure. In Palestine moreover the atmosphere is serene and salubrious, but in Egypt many diseases unavoidably arise from the quantity of mud and dirt which the Nile produces. For Egypt, especially the upper part, is watered by few or no showers.\* The lower part has rain, but only in the months of November, December, and January.† Hence, when in the time of *Psamenitus*, king of Egypt, a rain descended at *Thebes*, it was considered as a prodigy; for whilst a solitary rain at far distant intervals descends on those parts adjacent to the sea, and those parts which are above *Memphis* have no rain, at that time, the atmosphere presented a new appearance and a tempestuous storm rushed upon them. This novel and astonishing event‡ overwhelmed them with terror. Since then, Egypt is almost entirely deprived of showers, its fertility depends solely on the inundations of the Nile, whence the Egyptians§ feign the Nile to be a deity, and they esteem it the greatest of the deities, declaring it to be a rival of the heavens, because without clouds or rain, it waters the land and moistens the earth yearly instead of showers. These things the common people say. But those skilled in their mysteries affirm that the land is *Isis*, and the Nile *Osiris*.

\* Conf. *Ray's* Collection of Travels, Tom. ii. p. 92. *Greaves* Beschreibung der Pyramiden, p. 74, &c.

† *Vansleben's* Relation d'Égypte p. 37, 354. *Thevenot's* voyage au Levant lib ii. p. 789. *Fossii* Obscn. ad Melam desitu orbis. lib i. c. 9. *Dapper's* Beschr. von Afrika, p. 127.

‡ Conf. *Herodoti* hist. lib iii. cap. 10. *Philo Judæus* in vita Mosis, lib i. page 481. Edit. Genev.

§ Conf. *Thesaurus numismatum antiquorum cum commentariis I. Oiselli*, Tab. xxxiv. n. 9. et *Trestani Numism.* T. i. p. 307.



The Egyptians also worshiped\* the Nile under the name of *Serapis*.

§ III. *Of the origin of the Nile.*

Respecting the origin of the Nile which many derive from the mountains of the moon, the opinions of authors are various. Many kings and emperors have investigated it in vain, so that it has become a proverb, that to seek for the head of the Nile is to seek for a thing that is arduous and beyond the powers of man.† Alexander, indeed, when he saw crocodiles in the *Hydaspes* and Egyptian beans in *Acesines*, thought that he had discovered the source of the Nile, and prepared a fleet for Egypt, intending to sail down this river into the Nile, but he soon discovered that his hopes were not to be realised, for large rivers intervened, and the Ocean also into which all the rivers of India flow; and besides these Ariana and the Arabian and Persian gulfs; and Arabia and Troglodytica.‡ *Hieronymus Lobo*, according to TELLEZ, in his history of Aethiopia, says that the Nile rises in the kingdom of Gojam, a country under the Aethiopians or Abyssinians, in latitude twelve degrees from the Equator. SUDAS says, the *etesiaë*§ blow during the greater part of the summer; because the sun ascending higher and approaching nearer to the north, dissolves the moisture which exists in that part, which, mingling with the air and wind, forms the *etesiaë*: and this wind carried from the north into the south, when it meets the higher mountains of Aethiopia, is condensed and forms rain: by which the Nile, although coming from

\* Vid. *Sekmanni* diss. hist. de Serapide Egyptorum Deo maximo, Lipsiae 1666. *Bosseckii* diss. de fluminum cultu. Lipsiae 1740. Seldenus de Diis Syris. Synt. i. c. 4. *Kercheri* Oedipus Egypt. T. i. Synt. 3. c. 7. T. iii. Synt. 15. c. 1. *Vossii* Theologia Gentilium lib. ii. c. 74, 75.

† Strabo, lib. xv. p. 696.

‡ *Kercheri* Oedipus Egypt. T. i. Synt. 1. c. 7.

§ North East Winds which blow for forty days during the dog days.

a dry and tropical climate, is made to overflow. What *Sudas* here says of the increase of the Nile, *Pliny* declares, is believed by others also, where he gives the different opinions respecting the source of the Nile. He says\* that authors have advanced various causes of the increase of the Nile, the most probable of which are, the condensation of the *etesiae*, blowing at that time from contrary directions, the sea being driven beyond its shores; or the summer showers of Aethiopia, the *etesiae* carrying the clouds thither from the rest of the world. *Ammonius* testifies the same thing.† The most famous opinion is that the *Prodromi*‡ blowing, and continual blasts of the *Etsiae* meeting them for forty-five days, the velocity of the flowing of the river is retarded, so that its waves swell and overflow. In this manner the river continues to flow, still opposed by the winds, until it inundates the whole country. The opinions which *Pliny* and *Sudas* have expressed in their writings, they appear to have taken from *Callisthenes* and *Democritus*, who express the same sentiments. But the opinion that seems most probable to me is that the Nile arises not from fountains, but has its source in Aethiopia from the rains which fall there, and which, when the sun enters the sign of the cancer, are very great and abundant, and continue such for the space of forty days. In the month of June, on the seventeenth day the river begins to increase and inundates the whole of Egypt. This increase ends in the month of August and some times not until the middle of September; at which time it gradually diminishes, after the space of three months have intervened. The more abundant its increase has been, the slower is its fall, and the later the harvest. In this manner it supplies the wants of the husbandman§.

\* *Plinii hist. nat. lib. v. cap. 9.*

† *lib. xxii.*

‡ Winds which blow for eight days before the rising of the dog star.

§ *Homer* represents the Nile as descending from heaven. ΑΨ' ὄ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον δῖπτερος ποταμοῖο *Odyss. Δ. V. 531.*

§ IV. *Of the effects of the inundation of the Nile and of the measures of the Nile.*

Pliny\* elegantly describes the effect of the overflowing of the Nile. When it is twelve cubits, famine is the consequence; when thirteen, hunger follows; fourteen cubits produce joy; fifteen, security; and sixteen, delight. Wherefore an image was erected in the temple of peace by *Vespasian Augustus*, with sixteen children, by which was signified the overflowing of the Nile to the depth of sixteen cubits.† The higher it rises beyond this number, the greater famine is expected, because the water delaying too long, the time of sowing is passed, and the crops cannot arrive at maturity, or produce fruit. It is the greatest calamity which can possibly happen to Egypt, when the Nile does not sufficiently water the earth, or when it exceeds sixteen cubits. The first curse upon Egypt is predicted in Isa. xix. 5. The words of the Hebrew text are וְנִשְׁתַּוְּמִים מֵהַיָּם which are generally translated, *deficient seu arescent aquæ ex mari*; so the Syriac, Symmachus and the Vulgate. The root of this verb with the points and the dagesch forte, is נִשַׁת which is said to occur three times in the Bible,‡ but it is to be found in no other Oriental language, and is therefore very doubtful. But if you reject the points and the dagesch forte, which were added by the Masorites about the seventh century after Christ, the places where this word is found become very clear. Therefore I think it ought to be read in this place וְנִשְׁתַּוְּ without the dagesch

\* I. c.

† *Arcadius* the Emperor, forbade any water to be taken from the Nile by breaking the mounds when the increase was less than twelve cubits, under pain of burning—Anno Christi ccccix. leg. i., de Nile agerribus, lib. 9. Cod. Theod. tit. 32., in which year a great famine prevailed at Constantinople, teste *Marcellino* in Chron.

‡ Besides this place. Is. xli. 17; and Jer. li. 30.

forte, which is the Praeter. Conjug. Niph. from the root  $\text{התש}$  *bibere*, and should be translated, *ebibentur aquæ ex mari*, and so the LXX and *Aquila* have translated it  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\omicron\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\nu\delta\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ . By the word  $\text{ד}$  translators understand the Mediterranean sea. But what is that to Egypt? It would affect it but little, was it entirely dry. In my opinion  $\text{ד}$  in this place is the river Nile, which is very often called the sea: for the first name of this river was *Oceanus*, in Greek  $\text{Οκεανος}$ .\* But the sense of this place is by no means that the Nile should dry up entirely, but that it should not sufficiently water the land.

It has been made a matter of attention by some men, how they might discover by diligent observation, what number of cubits the river rises when it is the highest, and the instrument by which they made their observations was called  $\text{Νειλομετριον}$ : it was divided into cubits. *John Gravius*† has described this instrument. He says it is yet to be found in *Cairo*, and *Thevenot*, *Hasselquist* and others state the same thing.‡ The geographer of Nubia§ has elegantly described it as follows: *Dar Almechias*, that is, the place of measure is at the head of an island, which is broader on the eastern side, which is in sight of the city *Fosdad*. It is a large hall, surrounded within on all sides with arches, which a circle of columns support; and in the midst of the hall, is a large and deep cistern to which there is a descent on all sides by marble steps. From the centre of the cistern arises a straight marble column divided into cubits and digits. The water is car-

\* Conf. *Diod. Sic. Bibl. hist. lib. i. cap. 12. Maillet* in description de l'Egypte, lettre ii. p. 41. The Nile, they say, flows with such force, that it more resembles a sea, than a simple river.

† In libro de pede Romano.

‡ *Thevenot Voyage au Levante*, p. I. lib. 2. c. 32; et lib. 3. c. 44. *Hasselquist Reise nach Palestina*, pag. 76. Conf. *Diod Sic. Bibl. hist. lib. 1. Strabo* in Georg. lib. xviii. *Plutarch* de Iside et Osir. *Plinii hist. natur. lib. v. c. 9; xviii. 18; xxxvi. 7. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 13.*

§ *Clim. iii. p. 15.*

ried to that cistern through a large canal, which passes from it to the water of the Nile. The water does not run into the cistern except when it has arrived to that elevation which takes place in the month of August. The waters ordinarily rise sixteen cubits, and then they irrigate equally the territory of the Emperor. When the Nile rises eighteen cubits it waters both the neighbouring countries. If it rises twenty cubits it causes injury. Twelve cubits is a very small rise—A cubit is twenty-four digits. As often as it exceeds eighteen cubits it brings destruction, because it tears up and kills the trees. Likewise when it is less than twelve cubits, it produces drought and famine. It may be proper to refer to the words of *Hasselquist* on the means of ascertaining the height of the Nile. “The place in which the height of the water is measured (the Nilometer) is the most remarkable thing in *Old Cairo*. It is a quadrangular house, built by the river, the roof terminating in a white pyramid. At certain distances from the ground there are openings to admit the water. In the middle of the building stands a marble pillar, upon which a gauge is marked, upon which the daily rise and fall of the water can be noted, until the whole land is overflowed. The government appoint the persons who are to make these remarks and during this period their superstition will not allow any but Mohammedans to enter the building. It was therefore impossible for us to obtain a view from the inside.”

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#### § V. *Of the drains and the lake of Moeris.*

The ancient Egyptians made use of various inventions, when the Nile did not overflow the more elevated lands, (for you will find no mountains in Egypt) or when it exceeded the desired bounds; among which inventions the drains and aqueducts hold a distinguished place. In the



middle of the drains there are steps on which the husbandman stands, as often as he wishes to water his land, and he is carried round by them. But to prevent falling, he seizes fast of a prop near him, with his hands, to which, clinging, he suspends his whole body and uses his hands in the place of his feet and his feet in the place of his hands; for he stands upon his hands whose business it is to act, and acts with his feet which are for standing.\* Hence we may understand what is intended by Deut. xi. 10. to water the garden with the feet. This instrument is called by the Arabians *Sakih* (سكح) *irrigatorium*.

*Archimedes*, indeed, is said to be the inventor of it, but this is incredible, since it occurs in the books of Moses. The Egyptians make use of their feet for treading, but the Persians make use of cattle.† Indeed the drains are excellent and most necessary inventions: but the aqueducts are still more important. Thus, according to *Pliny*,‡ between *Arsensis* and *Memphis*, there is a place in circumference CCLX paces, or according to *Mutianus* CCCCLX, and in depth fifty paces formed by nature, but improved and enlarged by the king of *Moeris*, whence also it is called the lake of *Moeris*, which is connected with the Nile by a canal. This place, both on account of its size and its depth, is sufficient to receive the overflowings of the Nile at the time of its increase, so that the water may not destroy the

\* Conf. *Phil. Jud. de confusione linguarum* p. 255. edit. Genev.

† You may see the figure in the *Travels and Observations* in several parts of Levant, by *Shaw*, T. II. p. 337. *Norden's Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, T. I. fig. 53. ad pag. 61. *Niebuhr's Beschreibung Arabiens*, T. I. p. 148. &c. In the Koran, Sur. II. v. 66. *Muhamed* says, "the heifer which has not plowed the earth nor watered the land," that is, which has not moved in the wheel which draws the water, and by which it is poured into the canals that water the land.—From Babylon even to the Nile a certain hill descends, by which water is drawn from the river by means of wheels and pumps, captives working continually. Conf. *Strab. Geogr. lib. xvii.* p. 807. *Hannoverishes Magazin*, 1780. St. 57. p. 899.

‡ *Hist. Natur. lib. v. c. 9.*



crops and the habitations. Afterwards, the Nile decreasing, by the aid of a ditch it retains a sufficiency of water to supply the husbandmen. The ditch is eight stadia long, and three hundred feet broad. By this, the lake sometimes receiving the river water and sometimes not receiving it, retains a suitable supply of water, the mouth being opened at one time and closed at another, not without much labour and expense. For whoever would remove or replace the enclosures of this structure, had to expend not less than fifty talents. The lake has remained subserving the conveniences of the Egyptians even to our times, the name only being changed, for it is called *Lacus Charontis*.\* But this lake affords another advantage to the Egyptians; an immense number of fish grow in it. It is said to produce twenty two kinds of fish, and so great a number is caught, that although there is an immense number of men who follow the business of salting them, they can scarcely accomplish their work.



### § VI. *The fertility arising from the Nile.*

Among other nations, agriculture is carried on with great expense and labour; but among the Egyptians alone their fruits are collected with very little expense or trouble, whence also the common people, when the Nile overflows, freed from work, give themselves up to relaxation, feasting continually, and enjoying without interruption all things that conduce to pleasure†. Then when the slime is left, the fertility is so great, that they are often compelled to mix it with gravel, lest the seed being sown in this too rich and nitrous slime, should perish from its richness. Particularly the lower part of Egypt which is called the Delta is too rich. On the contrary, in the

\* Conf. *Strab. Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 811. *Diod. Sic. Bibl. hist.* lib. i. p. 34.

† Conf. *Diod. Sic. Bib. hist.* lib. i. *Irwin's Series of Adventures in the course of a voyage up the Red Sea, &c.* p. 229.

more elevated country which is not overflowed by the Nile, much smaller crops are to be expected. It adds very much to the fertility of Egypt, that it has a double summer every year; the former of which is very uneven and inconstant, with excessive heat, which is very trying to the body, especially of a stranger not accustomed to this climate. It begins in the month of March and continues until May. The other summer, which is called the second part of the summer, succeeds the former, for it begins in the month of June and closes about the end of August. This summer is more uniform than the former and more constant, less hot and offensive to the body. The autumn comprises two months, September and October. The winter begins in the month of November and extends to January. The spring is observed in January and February: in these months the trees begin to bud, and the earth is rendered very beautiful with green herbs, plants, and flowers.\*



§ VII. *The water of the Nile is said to be very wholesome, and productive of fruitfulness in women.*

The water of the Nile is highly spoken of for drinking. But as it contains much dirt and mud, it is necessary first to strain it, and then to preserve it in earthen vessels, until the mud settles, and the water becomes clear. *Galent*† testifies that the Egyptians used it strained through earthen vessels, by which process it is preferable to all other waters; for it is very pure, limpid, and of a sweet taste. Whence *Aeschylus*‡ also calls the water of the Nile, εὐπρωτονῆσος, that is a flowing stream, sweet and suitable for drinking. For who will not believe that the wa-

\* Confer *Prosp. Alpinum de medicina Ægyptionum* lib. i. c. 7. *Dapper's* Beschreibung von Afrika. p. 126.

† *De Simpl. Medic. Facult. lib. i.* *Prosp. Alpin. I. c.* *Dapper* p. 131.

‡ *In Prometheus vineto.* p. 49.

ter of that very celebrated river is the best of all for the use of man ; seeing that by so long a course, it passes through so extensive a country, burnt by the sun, which the ancients thought not habitable on account of its excessive heat ; and seeing, moreover, that it is almost heated by the sun in its long journey, and by the motion and agitation which happen in so extended a progress, and by its descent from high mountains, the river being precipitated from lofty eminences, it becomes completely purified. And because that river has not a rocky channel, but one of very rich earth, it is evident that least of all waters it will injure by its coldness. For these reasons, *Avicenna* and *Prosper Alpinus* have spoken in the highest terms of this water. The Egyptians keep the water of the Nile in casks as wine is kept. For as it does not become putrid, according to *Aristides*, they preserve it three, or four, or even more years, at which time it comes in as great demand amongst them as wine with us. The Nile is said not only to fertilize the land, but also to produce fruitfulness in women. For *Pliny*\* states from Trogus that in Egypt it is very common for twins to be born, and that three, and four are often brought forth at one birth, and seven have been. *Strabot* asserts that *Aristotlé* has said the same thing. But perhaps the text has been altered, and instead of *επταδυμα* it ought to be read *πενταδυμα*, since *Aristotle* in various other places, † speaks of five at a birth, and *Gellius* affirms the same thing from him. Aristotle the philosopher, has related that a woman in Egypt brought forth five children at a birth, and this is the largest number ever heard of, and this number very seldom is found. But it often happens that the Egyptians bring forth twins,

\* *Hist. Natur.* lib. vii. cap. 3. *Aristotelis* de hist. animal. lib. viii. cap. 4. Conf. *Rittershusius* in *Oppiani* Cynag. lib. ii. c. 143. p. 57.

† *Geog.* lib. xv. p. 695.

‡ *De Generat. Animal.* lib. iv. c. 4. et 5 de hist. animal. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 822. *Gellius* lib. x. c. 2. p. 504.

And ancient authors say that three and four are often born at a birth, and indeed in some lands that is common. It is said that a certain woman in four births, during the space of five years, brought forth twenty children, the most of whom grew up. Credible authors tell of a woman in Peloponnesus, who in five births brought forth four at a time.

It is certain that the three *Horatii* were of one birth, and likewise the three *Curatii*, as can be shown from the ancient coins which have this inscription, C. CVR. et TRIGF\*. *Laetius* also says, that he saw in the palace a freed woman who was brought from Alexandria, to be showed to *Adrian*, with five children, of which four were brought forth at a birth, and the fifth forty days after.†

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### § VIII. *The evils which arise from the Nile.*

I have abundantly shown the benefits arising from the Nile and its advantages with respect to fertility; but it will bear no comparison with the fertility of the land of Palestine, which I shall now describe after having premised some of the evils that arise from the Nile. I have already mentioned that the Nile carries with it a great quantity of very rich clay. From this a great variety of insects arise, which putrefy when they die and poison the air. The bird called Ibis, is, on this account, of great utility, for it devours these pestiferous insects and removes the evil. Whence the Egyptians worshipped that benefactor with divine honours, and punished invariably with death every one that killed the Ibis, either willingly

\* *Patinus* in Famil. p. 97. n. 1. et 2. apud *Gorlæum* p. 30.

† Confer. *Paulus* Juriseonsultus in leg. iii. Digest. If the subject of heirship be sought, *Julianus* leg. xxxvi. Dig. De solutionibus et liberationibus.

or unwillingly.\* The Ibis is a bird entirely white, tall, with black feet, rough legs, and a long and horny beak: its wings have no feathers but are bare, resembling those of the bat. Its size is about that of the hen or the crow.

But the greatest evil that arises from the Nile is occasioned by the evaporation, which produces a noxious atmosphere. So that I think it may be safely affirmed that Egypt is the only country producing the plague, from which it is carried into other regions. The Nile in the winter time flows very slowly, and the water has a very disagreeable smell; and especially about the mouths of the Nile, where there are many marshes called *Bucolia*. Our geography of Egypt is by no means accurate or sufficiently minute; it contains much mistake and deficiency: we barely know from *Heliodorus* and *Russel*,† that there are fenny places there. For there are low grounds receiving the overflowings of the Nile, and lakes of unfathomable depth in the middle, and terminating in marsh about their banks. For what the shores are to the seas, the marshes are to these lakes. There also the Egyptian robbers have their republic, for they make use of the water instead of a wall; moreover there is a large quantity of reed in the marsh which answers them for a fortification. In Egypt also, the *lepra* and *Elephantiasis* (species of the leprosy) and other destructive diseases take their rise: *Maudrell*, *Thevenot* and *Prosper Alpinus*‡ affirm that

\* *Strabo*, in Geograph. lib. xvi. says, all the Egyptians worship certain animals, in common; as, of quadrupeds, the cow, the dog, the cat; of birds, the hawk and the ibis, of water animals, the lapidotus piscis and the oxyrynehus. See the form of the ibis in *Jac. de Wilde*, Sign. Antig. No. 13. *Dapper's* Beschr. von Afrika, p. 120. *J. R. Forster's* Indische Zoologie, auf der Christen Kupfertafel. This bird is entirely unknown in our country, and has no name in Europe. Confer *Aldrovandi* Orrith lib. xx. cap. 3. pag. 312.

† *Heliodori* Aethopion lib. i. *Russel's* natural history of Aleppo, p. 49. 50. Confer *Goquet* de l'origine des Loix, des Arts, et des Sciences et de leurs progres chez les anciens peuples. T. II. liv. 3. ch. 2.

‡ *Thevenot's* Voyage au Levant p. i. lib. ii. cap. 80. *Prosper Alpinus* de Medicina Ægyptiorum lib. i. p. 14. Confer *Schillingii* commentationes de lepra. *Dapper's* Besch. von Afrika p. 127—129.



the leprosy has raged in Egypt in their own times, and that they have seen men labouring under it. *Pliny* affirms that it arises in Egypt alone and that it is common there. *Lucretius* says the same thing in the following lines from lib. VI.,

Est elephas morbus, qui propter flumina Nili,  
Nascitur Aegypto in media nec præterea usquam.

*Dioscorides* and *Avicenna*, indeed, contend that this disease arises from the Egyptian beer, but this appears to be a mistake, although *Scaliger* to excuse *Dioscorides* refers it to the acidity of the beer. The whole cause is rather to be referred to the varying atmosphere, as *Galen* also thinks.\* Indeed, in Alexandria many contract the disease from the united cause, of the manner of living and the heat of the climate. In *Germany* and other countries this disease is very uncommon, and among the *Scythians* who live principally on milk, it has scarcely ever appeared. But in *Alexandria* it is produced by the manner of living; For they eat boiled flour and lentils, shell fish and other salt food, and some of them, the flesh of the ass, and other things which produce gross and phlegmatick humours, whence, when the air is warm, the motion of the humours is directed towards the surface. Indeed, *Egypt* is generally represented as the native place of this disease, from which it afterward spread into other countries. The *Israelites* carried the leprosy into *Palestine*, whence Moses prescribed peculiar laws respecting it.† And nothing appears to me more evident, than that it was this disease with which *Job* was afflicted.‡

\* De curat. ad Glauco. lib. ii. cap. 10.

† Levit. xiii.

‡ Conf. *Michaelis* 36te Arabische Frage an die Reisenden und dessen Anmerkung zu Heob ii. 7. *Mead* on the most important diseases mentioned in the S.S. Chap. i.



§ IX. *Whether Egypt produces a greater quantity of corn than Palestine.*

Let no one infer, because Strabo\* affirms that Egypt abounds in corn, that on that account it is to be preferred to Palestine. For who will pronounce that region the most happy and desirable, which possesses no other advantages of nature than a supply of corn? But even in this respect Palestine surpasses, both in the productiveness and quality of its corn. In the Bible† we are informed that the *Tyrrians* received their corn not from Egypt, which was more convenient for them, but from Palestine. Which however I freely concede might have been done for different reasons; and therefore I will not urge this argument. For the Egyptians in their early ages were very negligent in their commerce with foreigners, wanting a port, Alexandria being not yet built, and the navigation of the Nile being very dangerous on account of its cataracts, according to *Abulfeda*, *Homer*, and *Niebuhr*.‡ For there is a cataract extending twelve stadia, confined by craggy rocks into a narrow pass, very rough and turbulent. The water of the river being driven violently against these rocks, is turned by these obstacles into a contrary direction, where remarkable whirlpools are formed; and the resistance is so often repeated, that the whole surface is covered with foam: so that those that approach are overwhelmed with amazement. For the river is there precipitated in so violent and so accelerated a manner, that its rapidity seems to be equal to that of an arrow. At the overflowing of the Nile, when the rocks are covered and the roughness destroyed by the rise of the water, it sometimes happens that boatmen taking advantage of contrary winds, may descend the cataract,

\* Georg. lib. xvii. † Conf. Ezech. xxvii. 17. Ezr. iii. 7. Acts xii. 20.

‡ Conf. Wood's Essay on the original genius of Homer, page 125. Diodori Siculi Bibl. Hist. lib. i. page 20. Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien, T. I. p. 56. etc.

but there is no possibility of ascending, for the force of the water baffles all the skill of the human mind. *Neibuhr*\* a classic author, on this subject, describes the harvests of Palestine as very large and profitable; for, says he, the crop that is overflowed by river water is of less value than that which is watered by the rain; whence according to exact computation you will find that twenty bushels of wheat, of the former kind, is equal to only fifteen of the latter, the flower of which is also much superior. The Hebrews were of the opinion, that it was very honourable to them to have a large increase, but that it was a great disgrace to have an unproductive harvest. Whence in Isa. lxi. 7, a large and abundant harvest is opposed to their former disgrace. No one will deny that the soil of Palestine is peculiarly suited to the production of corn, when he is informed that it requires very little labour in its culture, and produces a very large increase. By the word *corn*, in this place, I mean principally *wheat* and *barley*, of which kinds of grain it produces the greatest abundance, although it is not deficient in the production of others. Consult Isa. xxviii. 25, where the principal kinds of corn are mentioned. Indeed this place appears to be misunderstood by most interpreters; permit me therefore to add a few words for the illustration of it. That it is not customary for the husbandman to sow the same kind of grain in the same place every year, but rather to vary it, is clearly understood from this place. We find in this text *יְשׁוּהָ פְנֵיהָ* *he hath made plain the face thereof*, which seems difficult to interpreters, whence *Clericus* and *Vitringa* omit it in their commentaries. Others understand this as having reference to *harrowing*; which opinion *Paulsen* has adopted; † for he has said in explanation of this place, that the ground must first be harrowed, before the seed can be sown, for

\* Beschreibung von Arabien, p. 152. Ex quo, locus Deut. xi. 10. est explicandus.

† In Seiner Abhandl. v. dem Ackerbau der Morgenländ.

the rapid winds, which in our country, scatter the grain, are not found in the oriental regions. But in this thing, that very learned man greatly errs, for all who have visited those countries, affirm with one voice, that the winds are much more severe there, than they are with us. Therefore if I may be allowed to give my opinion, harrowing is not at all intended in this verse, mention of which is made in the former verse : for if the Prophet had intended to repeat what he had said before, I think he would certainly have employed the verb **רָרַץ**, which signifies to harrow : whence nothing appears to me more plain than that the expression *to make plain the face thereof*, has another meaning. I think in this place *rollers* are referred to, with which the eastern people used to level their lands. Their use is unknown in our country, but they are found in England made of stone. The roller is a stone cylinder so constructed as to turn round, which writers on agriculture recommend for levelling threshing floors. *Cato*\* says, in this manner prepare the floor for threshing corn : let the ground be carefully dug up, let the lees of oil be sprinkled over it : and then let the clods be broken into small pieces by the roller or the pounding instrument : when it becomes hardened the ants will not be troublesome, nor will the rain produce mud. *Columella* advances the same in these words :—

Tum quoque procisso rigoque inpersa novali  
 Ocima comprimite, et gravibus densate cylindris,  
 Exurat sata ne resoluti pulveris æstus,  
 Parvulus aut pulex irrepens dente lacessat,  
 Neu fornica rapax populari semina possit.

From which words it appears that they were of great convenience and advantage. For the earth is hardened by them, the clods are broken, and the moles are destroyed.

\* Cap. 129. *Columella* in hortulo lib. x.

The seed, therefore, is committed to the earth after it has been levelled by the roller, and then it is harrowed. Which seems to me the most satisfactory explication of this place. חטה יורה is translated in different ways ; some call it *measured wheat*, that is wheat not to be sown except according to the proportion of the land, in a certain measure : others call it *wheat in order*, that is placed in order ; others, the *principal wheat*, that is the best, deriving the word from יור which means the principal : but this does not please me, I would rather translate it the *rich wheat*, from יור which in Arabic means *to be fat* : for the Sin of the Hebrew generally answers to Shin in Arabic, and vice versa. But since I find this word placed among the kinds of corn, it has struck me that יורה may denote something that grows in the field : but what it is, it is difficult to say, since the word is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring only in this place, whence the *Seventy* and the *Syriac* omit it in their versions. The *Vulgate* translates it *by order*, taking it perhaps from יורה. Different kinds of grain are mentioned in this place : but in the East *rice* is a very excellent grain, from which the best bread is made, and in many places it is the daily food. If therefore I may venture a conjecture, I think that by the word יורה *rice* is intended, and that it is derived from an Arabic root which signifies *to be fat* ; for there is no grain richer than rice. *Aristobulus* has said that the height of its stalk was four cubits, that it contained many ears and much fruit, that it was reaped about the setting of the *Pleiades* and was pounded like spelt. It luxuriates in the land of Palestine, especially in the wet and marshy places, and is found in great quantities near the Jordan : besides, it grows in the Bactrian, the Babylonian, and the Susean lands, and also in the lower part of Syria. Moreover the Italians, according to *Pliny*\* are very fond of

\* Hist. Natural, lib. xviii. *Bontius* in Dialogo III. lib. ii. de medicina Indorum.

rice, from which they make broth, which other people make from barley. Experience, however teaches us, says *Bontius*, that warm rice is injurious, not only to the stomach, but also to the brain, and the whole nervous system : hence it happens from the gross and dry vapours that ascend into the brain, the optic nerves are often so injured as to produce blindness ; on which subject and its cure *Bontius* has treated largely in his Indian method of treating it. Hence you will never see the inhabitants of Java or the Malays eating warm rice.

That חטה means *wheat*, is the opinion of all. It is the most common grain from which the Orientals make their bread. Nothing is more productive than wheat, which nature has kindly provided, since it constitutes the principal support of man : so that from a bushel, according to *Pliny*,\* if the soil be good, such as the Byzicium plain of Africa, a hundred and fifty bushels are produced. The Procurator of Augustus sent to him from one grain planted in that place, about forty sprouts, the letter concerning which is yet extant. There were sent to Nero from one grain three hundred and sixty straws. But the wheat of Palestine surpasses that of all other regions in price, whence it is highly praised by *Celsus*,† who, instituting a comparison between this and the Egyptian, says, fifteen bushels of the wheat of Palestine affords the same quantity of flour, as twenty bushels of Egyptian wheat, and moreover is superior in quality and whiteness.

In 1 Kings v. 11., we read that Solomon gave yearly to the king of Tyre twenty thousand measures of wheat.

ערה signifies *barley*. Two kinds of barley are found in the East, according to *Niebuhr*,‡ one very like to our barley, but superior in sweetness of taste ; the other is black, and is a suitable food for beasts of burden, yielding

\* *Histor. Natur.*, lib. xviii. cap. 10.

† In *Heirobot.* Tom. II. p. 114. *Thomson's Reisebeschreibung*, p. 19.

‡ In seiner Beschreibung von Arabien, p. 157.



fifty fold. An hundred fold is promised to Jacob,\* and the Greek and Latin writers speak of crops still more productive. The region about Babylon, especially, is spoken of by *Herodotus*, as far the best for grain. For it is so fertile as to produce sometimes two hundred fold, and in the very best parts it has yielded even three hundred fold.

נִסְמָן is generally considered as an adjective belonging to שְׁעֵרָה, and is translated *appointed barley*, which ought to be translated *the best*. Then it is derived from סָמַן, which, among the Chaldees and Rabbins, signifies *he hath marked*; whence סִימָן *a mark*, in the place of which the Bible employs אֹת. Which explication I think entirely false; for סָמַן appears plainly to arise from the Greek word σήμιον and to have been received by the Rabbins and inserted in their language, whence it is a new word. For Alexander making an expedition into the East, and reducing it under his dominion, many Greek words were adopted by the Orientals, of which number this is one. But these are by no means suitable words by which to explain the Scriptures. Other interpreters translate it *rich barley*, deriving the word from שָׂמַן, which in the Arabic signifies *to be rich*; but that this is contrary to the analogy of all those languages, every scholar who is moderately acquainted with them will see: for in the Hebrew, according to the rule already given, it ought to be *Shin*: moreover from this application a gross grammatical error arises, for שְׁעֵרָה is of this feminine gender, but נִסְמָן of the masculine, which none of these interpreters have observed. But that the word is a substantive, and that some plant is intended by it I have but little doubt, although no plant of this name can be found in *Celsius*. The *Seventy*, the *Vulgate*, *Aquila* and *Theodotion* translate it by the word *millet*. But then I think it should be read נִסְמָר, and this I take to be the true reading,

\* Gen. xxvi. 13. Conf. *Lundii Jüdische Heiligthümer* iv. 35.



from the root סמך, which signifies *to be rough*: so it is explained by *Castell* in his *Lexicon*, and it has the same signification in the Armenian language. From the millet, according to *Columella* and *Pliny*, a very sweet bread is made, which, whilst warm, is very pleasant.\* The Indian millet introduced into Italy in the time of Nero, was of a black colour, the grain was large, and the stock resembling that of a reed. It grows seven feet high, and has a very large stock; its productiveness surpasses that of all other kinds of eorn, a single grain producing four or five pints. At the present time it is cultivated every where amongst us in the gardens as a curiosity; its grain is black and of the size of a pea; its straw resembles a reed; it grows five feet high and is called *the Saracen corn*. There are four kinds of the Indian millet; one kind produces yellow grains, another purple, and some is of a whitish colour. There is also a diversity in the ears; some have white, some purple and some yellow flowers, according as the grains are coloured. With respect to their shape there is no difference. The Ethiopians have no other corn but millet and barley. The Campanians make great use of millet. The Salmatians live chiefly on food of which millet is an ingredient, together with raw flesh, and mare's milk or the blood taken from the veins of the leg. The use of the millet for food is very common amongst the Germans, and many of the poor live on it almost entirely, according to *Rivius*.† כסמת in this place, the *Vulgate* translates *Vetch*, which *Luther* follows, though improperly. But others, the *Seventy*, the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac* versions rightly render it—Gr. ζεα; Lat. *Spelta*; Germ. *Speltz* s. *Dinkel*. It is a kind of grain, very like to wheat, and superior to it in taste. It does not grow every-

\* Conf. *Galenum* de aliment. facultat., lib. i. cap. 15. p. 322.

† *Rivii* notae in Dioscoridem lib. cap. 89. On the Indian millet of great size vide *Philostratum* de vita Apollonii lib. iii. cap. 2. page 111.

where, and is found in our country, but it is peculiar to Egypt, Palestine, Cilicia, Asia and Greece. *Herodotus*\* says, many live on corn and barley, but in Egypt it is not esteemed respectable to live on them, they use a kind of food made of what they call Zea. Zea is of two kinds, according to *Dioscorides*,† one simple, the other bears two grains in a double shell, and on that account is called *dicocci*. It has more nourishment than barley. in making bread it is not so light as wheat. The *siligo*, (a kind of corn) and *oats* are not found in Palestine, although many are of a contrary opinion. As to the *siligo*, I think Palestine is by no means its natural soil: for I do not discover that it was in the eastern countries, and all travellers visiting that land are silent about it. In the *Talmud*, indeed, I have found some places which make mention of it, by which many translators have been led into an error, being evidently ignorant of the natural productions of Palestine, and thinking that all kinds of corn which our land produces, grow there also. The places of Sacred Scripture which the translators render *siligo*, are to be differently explained in my opinion, and the mention of it in the *Talmud*, results from the trifles and fables of the Rabbins. Neither can you find the *oats* in the East: in our country it is the common food of horses, but with them barley is used in its place. Consequently their beasts of burden are badly kept; for being without oats, and also without hay, at least at this day, they feed them on cut straw, mixed with a few grains of barley. When the year is particularly fruitful, they increase the quantity of barley, and also add vetches and beans to the cut straw.‡

\* *Histor. lib. ii. cap. 36.*

† *De medicinali materia, lib. ii. cap. 81. Conf. Celsii Hierobot. T. II. p. 48. Ursini Herbar. Bibl. lib. ii. cap. 3.*

‡ You can see more in *Shaw's Travels and Observations* in several parts of the Levant, page 123; and *Niebuhr's Beschreib. von Arabien*, p. 151. *Thevenot*, T. II. lib. i. c. 5. *Bocharti Hierozoicon*, p. 1. lib. ii. c. 9. *Maillet's description d'Egypte*, Lettre ix. p. 8. 13.

I have already said that *hay* at least at the present day, is unknown in Palestine and also in the other Oriental countries, and I assert it from this ground, that all who have visited those regions at the present day, without an exception, have made no mention of hay. However I think hay was in use there in the early times, and this appears from reading Isa. xxxiii. 11, where I translate טִשֵּׁחַ *dry grass*, that is hay. The root is found in the Arabic where it signifies *to be dry*. Moreover in the same language טִשֵּׁחַ is opposed to טֵשֵׁעַ which signifies, *young grass growing*. That טִשֵּׁחַ in Isa. v. 24, signifies *dry grass*, appears evident, for green and fresh grass cannot take fire. I do not understand, that hay, which is generally kept by us in barns, and which is less exposed to fire, but rather the *hay lying in the field*, as is the custom in the East, which can easily take fire, both on account of the more ardent heat of the sun, and the imprudence of the inhabitants. Of which thing, there are not wanting examples. Therefore in this place, it is entirely an Oriental figure, and although none of the travellers make mention of hay, this by no means proves, as I think, that the ancient Hebrews were without the use of it. For the old Orientals far surpassed the modern in economy, and living more compactly than at this day, they were compelled to exert themselves more to find provision for their cattle.

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§ X. *Not Egypt but Palestine, abounds in vines.*

If we compare the testimonies of ancient and modern authors, respecting the cultivation of the vine in Egypt, we will find that they differ: the former represent Egypt as abounding in vineyards, and the latter as having scarcely any. The representations of the Bible are between both. These contradictions, and the testimony of one part appear to be false: but they are not; each of them is most true,

if we only distinguish between the different ages of Egypt. In their early history, there appears to have been only a moderate cultivation of the vine in Egypt: but afterwards, under the successors of Alexander, very great attention was paid to it, which the Greek and Roman authors describe; finally under the Mohammedans, the vineyards were neglected and destroyed. However, vineyards are yet found in a very few places, and especially about Alexandria, and the region of *Fium*, where the *canal of Joseph* is, which makes the earth fertile. This canal is sometimes called the *river of Fium*, but generally the *canal of Joseph*: so it is called by *Paul Lucas*\* and *Sicardus*.† For every great and stupendous work in Egypt is attributed to Joseph,‡ who is said to have made this canal, and by it, to have rendered the region of Fium fertile;§ but this is incredible. The Mareotic wine is praised by Strabo. || The lake Mareotis situated in Egypt, is about one hundred stadia broad, and three hundred long: it contains eight islands, and the places in the vicinity are very populous, and they make great quantities of wine. Horace¶ extols the Mareotic wine, as second only to that of Cæcubum,

\* In a voyage made 1714, through Turkey, &c. T. II. p. 205. T. III. p. 53. Examine the annexed table, where this canal is represented. Vid. Ps. lxxviii. 47. Gen. xl. 9. 10. Num. xx. 5.

† *Memoires des Missions*, Tom. II. page 261. The canal of Joseph made from Saon to Fium, cut through a mountain, communicates immediately with the Nile, by a bridge or cataract, and flows through the middle of Fium. Conf. *Abulfeda* in descriptione Egypti p. 10, where he says, the river of Fium commences (from the Nile,) at Daruth Darban, and flows northwardly towards Bahanesa, thence to a place called Sohon; afterwards it turns to the west, and enters Fium. The country of Fium has always been the most fertile part of Egypt. *Strabo* lib. xvii. *Plini*'s Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 15. *Maillet*'s Description of Egypt, page 293, &c. *Wansleben*'s voyage in Egypt, p. 245—255.

‡ *Maillet*, p. 211, 212.

§ *Golii* Not. in Alfragan, p. 175. *Kircheri* Oedipus Ægypt. T. I. p. 8.

|| *Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 799, Edit. Paris.

¶ Lib. i. Od. 37. There is a particular species of the wine of Mareotis, whence Virgil, *Georg.* lib. i, says, Sunt Thasiæ vites, sunt et Mareotides albæ.

Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico  
Redigit in veros timores.

However, almost the whole of Egypt is very unfavourable for the cultivation of the vine, for it is destitute of hills, which the vine requires,\* for in a plain, grapes cannot come to maturity; especially as at the favourable season for them, the land is overflowed by the Nile. *Maillet*† says, that vines are sometimes seen on the walls of houses, which afford an excellent wine: but this by no means proves that Egypt abounds in wine. *Herodotus*‡ describing the scarcity of wine in Egypt, says, that wine is carried into Egypt twice a year, from different parts of Greece and Phenicia. In which thing many have attempted to refute him, but to these *Michaelis*§ answers, that the commerce which *Herodotus* mentions, the priests attempted to stop, as being very pernicious to Egypt, for they prohibited the use of wine, saying that Osiris had invented it: and they themselves abstained from it very strictly.

However they made use of wine at their feasts, and offered it, according to *Hecataeus* not as a thing in itself agreeable to the gods, but to expose the blood of those who had fought against the gods, and thence they thought to conciliate the deities to themselves; for the Egyptians thought that the vine had sprung from the blood of the giants poured on the earth, and hence fury and madness belonged to wine. But this prohibition, thought it was intended to be universal, yet was exercised with some limitation: for to gratify their kings and wealthy men, a dis-

\* ————— Apertos  
Bacchus amat colles.

*Virgili* Georg. lib. ii. 109.

† Description de l'Égypte, Tom. II. p. 17.

‡ Hist. lib. iii. cap. 6. Conf. Expedit. totius mundi, vol. III. p. 5. Ep. Edit. *Hodsoni*, where it is said, Ascalon and Gaza send their best wine to Egypt and Syria. Vid. *Dapper's* Besch. von Afrika, p. 117.

§ Im Mosaischen Rechte, Tom. IV.



inction was made between wine, and the juice of the grape which they were allowed to drink; and which permission gave them no ordinary consolation and joy.\* From these things it will appear evident that Egypt is not to be called a vine bearing country: but that Palestine abounds in wine, we will now attempt to show. There are many vineyards in Palestine, and there would have been more, had not the use of wine been entirely prohibited by the law of *Mohamed*,† to the Saracens or Turks: for they holding that land under their subjection, tear up and destroy the vineyards wherever they find them. There are, however, some Saracens living near to the Christians, who cultivate vineyards and sell to them birds and wine. Moreover the Turks often violate their law and indulge themselves with the sweet gifts of Bacchus.‡ The wine of the Holy Land is very rich and sweet as all the travellers state, and particularly that of Bethlehem in the valley Rephaim, and as far as Nehel-Eschol, where the spies sent by Moses received the vine and grapes which they brought to the camp.§ About Sidon and Anterodus and Marhadus, and likewise Mount Lebanon, good wine is made.|| The trunks of the vines are there very thick and they send out their branches to a great distance, the inhabitants knowing well how to cultivate them: for they plant them so far a part that a carriage can easily pass be-

\* Conf. Gen. xl. The Indians have a law, that if a woman shall kill a king intoxicated, her reward shall be marriage to his successor; but his sons shall succeed.

† Which you may find in many places of the Koran, especially in Sura II and V. 92; XVI. 69.

‡ Conf. *d'Arvieux* Memoirs, which Labat edited 1735; Tom. I. p. 62. *Thevenot* T. I. lib. i. c. 24. *Smith* de moribus et institutis Turcarum, Epist. II. p. 28. *Busbeckii* Hist. Constantinopol. Epist. I. Conf. *Hasselquist's* Reise, p. 203. *Beausobre* says the same thing of the Manacheans in his history of them, Tom. II. pag. 774, &c. Conf. *Nicbuhr's* Besch. von Arabien, p. 141.

§ Num. xiii. 23.

|| *Nicbuhr's* Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien, T. II. p. 451. *Troilo's* Reisebeschreibung, p. 69. *Roger's* Terre Saint, p. 479.



tween them. It is not wonderful therefore that the grapes are so large and the wine so generous; nor is it to be wondered at, that in some countries the wine is so weak, seeing the inhabitants plant their vines so near to each other, that they scarcely admit the intervention of the foot of the cultivator. The manner of cultivating the vine in Antaradus is worthy of remark. For there the same wine produces grapes three times a year and they all mature in the ordinary time in this manner. The vine-dressers when they prune the vines leave as many branches of the preceding year as they deem necessary. Then after they begin to produce new branches and young clusters of grapes, they cut off the part of the branch that is above the clusters and cast it away. This is done in March. In April the branch that was cut above the clusters buds, and produces another branch with new clusters, which being seen, the part above the grapes is again cut off. In May the branch buds again and produces another, with new clusters, and thus there are three orders of grapes which ripen in the same manner. Those that appeared in March are gathered in August: those in April are gathered in September: those in May are gathered in October. But if the branches are not pruned in that order, it will not take place. Whence in Palestine, from the feast of Pentecost until St. Martin's day, ripe grapes are continually to be found in the market.\* Indeed, it is astonishing that, Palestine even in this day surpasses all the neighbouring regions in the best wines, after having suffered so much injury from the Turks, the enemies of wine. Its wines are said to be quite equal in flavour to those of Italy: and especially those of *Hebron* are extalld in the highest praises by *Hasselquist*,† comparing them with the gene-

\* Conf. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 142. *Joseph. de bello Jud.* lib. iii. cap. 10. sect. 8.

† Im. 12ten Briefe an den H. Ritter *Lanne*, von Smirna, aus den 13 Septem. 1751. Conf. *Athenzi Dipnos*, lib. i. cap. 15, pag. 29. *Michaelis or. Bib. T.* IV. p. 118. &c.

rous wines of Germany, which grow about the Rhine. But it cannot be denied that some vines were brought from Palestine to Europe and planted near the Rhine. *Scheidt* found near *Emaus* an abundance of vines, and *Niebuhr*,\* found near mount *Sinai* remarkably fine ones. The Sacred Scripture† certifies that the country about Gaza produces wine: and at this day the wine of that place is spoken of by travellers.‡ *Shultz*§ declares that grapes are found in Palestine of ten or twelve pounds weight.

In the Sacred Scriptures the word תִּירוֹשׁ often occurs, and it is generally translated *new wine*, from which however it by no means follows, that the ancients drank new wine to a great extent: the Hebrew word can justly be translated *new wine*, but it also frequently means simply *wine*. For it is derived from the root יָרַשׁ, which signifies *to employ*, whence תִּירוֹשׁ, *drink, easily employing a man*. From many parts of the Bible|| it appears that this drink was in as great demand amongst the Orientals as amongst the Greeks and Romans. Mention is made of a *sweet wine*, which is called γλυκός, in the New Testament.¶ It is uncertain, and a doubt may arise whether this is to be referred to *new wine* or to *wine* simply. One thing is certain, that it cannot refer to those wines which we call sweet. *Pliny*\*\* mentions fourteen kinds of sweet wine: the middle one of these, he says, is what the Greeks call *Aigleuces*, that is new or sweet wine. That wine is

\* Beschreib. von Arab. p. 401.

† Num. xiii. 23, 24. Jud. xiv. 5.

‡ Conf. *Relandi* Palestina, pag. 589, et 792. *Exposit. totius mundi*, Vol. III. p. 5. ex edit. Hudsoni. *Sidon. Appollin.* Carm. XVII. ad Ommatium, *Cassiodor.* lib. xii. Epist. 12.

§ Leitungen des Hoehsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Afrika, T. V. pag. 135, 285. Conf. *Arvieux*, T. II. p. 203. *Plini* Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. c. 1. *Strabo*, lib. ii.

|| Gen. xxvii. 28. Jud. ix. 13. Jer. xxiv. 7. lxx. 8.

¶ Acts ii. 13.

\*\* Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. cap. 9.

made with care, since they prevent it from fermenting. For they immerse the casks in water immediately from the wine vat, until the cold is passed. From this, as I suppose, a certain kind of wine is produced, which they call *γλευκος* : although I hesitate somewhat between two explanations. For *γλευκος* can imply *must*; and that this is much sweeter than the wine made of it, none will deny. Whence also the Syrians use the word *must* for *sweetness*. But whether *must* is to be found at the feast of Pentecost, may seem doubtful to some. But *Pliny* destroys that difficulty, affirming that the *must* was preserved in casks. And *Columella*\* has described a method by which *must* may be kept as sweet as if it was fresh. Before the husks of the grapes are pressed, remove the *must* as soon as possible from the vat, and put it in a new cask ; then make the cask perfectly tight by daubing it with pitch, so that no water can enter, and immerse the cask in cold and fresh water, so that no part of it shall be left out of the water : then, after forty days remove it from the water, and the *must* will remain sweet for a whole year. It is in a manner somewhat similar that the noble wine of Campania is preserved and kept from fermenting. But the word *γλευκος* may mean the *flower* or *essence* of wine, that is, wine made by picking out only the best grapes. Which opinion has not been advanced by any of the interpreters, although *Wetstein* has treated largely on this subject. This is the way in which the *essence of Tokay*, the best wine of Hungary is made, and it appears not improbable to me, that a wine of a similar kind is here intended.

\* De re rustica, lib. xii. cap. 29.

§ XI. *Egypt is destitute of oil, but Palestine abounds in it.*

According to *Strabo*\* the greatest part of Egypt has no olive yards, the province of Heraclea alone excepted, which as it surpasses the other parts in other respects, so also produces olives to perfection, and very fruitful trees; and if any one would make the oil carefully, it would be very superior, but as they are very negligent in the manner of making it, it has a very disagreeable smell. But the rest of Egypt has no olives, except the gardens in the vicinity of Alexandria. *Niebuhr*† has described the instrument for making oil, but has not stated the place where he found it. If he did not find it in Alexandria, perhaps more labour and attention is paid, at this day, to the cultivation of the olive than was the case in the time of *Strabo*. But Palestine surpasses other countries in the abundance of its olives: whence *Ezechiel*‡ the Prophet says, “Judah and the land of Israel were thy merchants: They traded in thy market (Tyre) wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and honey and oil and balm.” Solomon also is said, (1 Kings v. 11,) to have sent annually to the king of Tyre, twenty measures of pure oil. *Hasselquist* has given us the best description of its excellence, affirming that in no region has the oil a sweeter taste than in Palestine, and that it is far preferable to that of the *Province*. *Bellonius* says that a few olives are found in Lemnos, and that they grow in gardens of Crete, but that those of Syria and the land of Jerusalem surpass in richness. In the sacred monu-

\* De rebus Geographicis, lib. xvii. p. 809. Edit. Paris. Conf. *Michaelis*'s Mosaisches Recht, T. IV. p. 90.

† Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien, T. I. p. 151.

‡ Cap. xxvii. 17. Conf. Deut. vii. 13; xxxiii. 13; xxxiii. 24; Ps. xlv. 9; Hos. ii. 22. Conf. Talmud. in cod. Menachot cap. viii. 3. *Bocharti* Hieroz. p. 2, lib. iv. cap. 12. *Bellonii* Observat. lib. ii. c. 87. *Shaw's* Travels, p. 337, 339. *Roger's* Terre Saint. lib. i. c. 9. *Relandi* Palestina, p. 380, 381.

ments of Hebrew antiquity oil was held as a sign of forgiveness and mercy. Fertility also is denoted by the symbol of the olive tree. That it was the sign of fatness and fertility you may see from Jud. ix.; for when it was invited by the barren trees to govern, it answered that it was unwilling to leave its fatness, "wherewith by me they honour God and man." By *Horace*\* the olive is selected as the richest tree. Formerly the olive was the index and symbol of the sad and of those seeking pardon and peace: as those asking pardon carried the olive in their hands. According to *Demosthenes*, the Athenians used to supplicate against *Timocrates*, in sordid clothing and carrying the olive. When *Artaxerxes Ocho* was besieging *Sidon*, as *Diodorus Siculus* says in the life of Philip, five hundred of the nobles of the city went out to meet Artaxerxes, carrying olive branches and begging for peace. *Apuleus* says, that women who have become widows by murder, carry olive branches in order to excite the commiseration of the judges. When the Romans carried on a war with *Perseus* king of Macedonia, ambassadors with long hair and beards, and carrying olive branches, came to the Roman senate to beg for mercy: this *Livy* states. In marriage feasts and celebrations oil was used to anoint the bridegroom; according to the Oriental custom† he had some of his friends and companions with him, who were partakers of the unction, though not so largely as he. From the testimony of those who have visited the Eastern countries in our days, it appears that this custom has been abolished and perfuming introduced in its place. The Egyptian priests used to abstain from oil according to *Chaeremon* the stoic, in *Porphyry*.‡ Many of them did not use it at all, and those who did, used it very sparingly with their herbs. The olive, then, was not cultivated in

\* Lib. ii. Od. II. Conf. *Pierii Valeriani Hieroglyphica*, lib. 53.

† Confer. Jud. xiv. 11, 20. Ps. xlv. 9.

‡ De abstinentia, lib. iv. sect. 6.



Egypt and the land was not suitable for it, a very small part only, the tract of *Heraclaea* excepted, and even this was but little used for that purpose. But Palestine abounds in olives. *Schulz*\* says, that he found many olive yards in the vicinity of *Jericho*; whence *Moses* gave different precepts to the *Israelites* that they should use oil in their food, and he prohibited the use of the fat of kidneys, so that being more and more accustomed to oil, they might cultivate it with more industry, and never have a desire to remove into a region that did not produce oil.† This was an excellent method, to keep the *Israelites* from emigrating.

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§ XII. *They had butter in Egypt, but not in Palestine.*

Butter appears to have been much used in *Egypt*, but not at all in *Palestine*; it was also scarcely known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; thus *Pliny*‡ says, of milk is made butter, an excellent food of the barbarous nations, and which distinguishes the rich from the common people. It is generally made from the milk of the cow (*e bubulo*) and thence the *Latin* name; but the richest is from the milk of the ewe. Of the *Lusitanians* *Strabo* says, they use butter instead of oil. My denial of the use of butter in *Palestine* will excite astonishment, since so many great men have strenuously affirmed it; and if we compare the old and recent interpreters of the *Sacred Scriptures* we find the word butter in their translations, although in the original text I contend there is no mention of the word. The *Israelites* had no need of it, possessing

\* *Leitungen des Höchsten auf seinen Reisen, &c.* T. V.

† *Conf. Ill. Michaelis* Comment. de legibus *Moses* *Palestinam* *Israelitis* *caram* *facturis*, sect. 5, 7. *Mosaïches* *Recht*. T. IV. p. 90.

‡ *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxviii. cap. 9. *Droscorides* lib. xi. cap. 81.



as they did the most excellent oil, whence our Jews, butter being forbidden in the law of Moses, use goose's fat. The word חֲמֵץ very often occurs in the Sacred Scriptures, which is generally translated *butter*. But on what foundation does this interpretation depend? What is the philological reason? I suppose they have been led by some prejudice to fix that signification to this word. If we make that the signification, the sense of some places in scripture will be rendered truly ridiculous and disgusting. It rather means in particular *curdled milk*, and in general *any milk*. Which signification suits well all the places where the word is found. The root in the Arabic is حَمِض, which signifies *milk was thick and hard*. In Jud. v. 25, it is said, that Joel gave to Sissera drink of חֲמֵץ, not of *butter*, but of *milk*. In Job xx. 17, is an Oriental description of Palestine, in these words: he shall not see the rivers, the floods, the brooks of honey, חֲמֵץ and *milk*. And so the Arabic and Syriac versions render it. In Job xxix. 6, there is mention of washing the feet with חֲמֵץ with milk. In this place חֲמֵץ is put for חֲמֵץ as all the translators allow, although they err in the translation, rendering it, *with butter*: this is ridiculous; for who would wash his feet in butter? This word occurs in Isa. vii. 15, the sense of which place is, he shall eat milk and honey, until he shall know to refuse evil and choose good. So the Syriac translation: but the LXX and the Vulgate, and from that Luther and others translate it *butter*. For the LXX living in Egypt always had butter in their minds, as that region abounded in it. From these places it will appear manifest, that חֲמֵץ means not *butter* but *milk*. Also milk appears to have been the usual drink amongst the ancients; whence many nations are called by the Greeks γαλακτοποσαι that is drinkers of milk, in the number of which were the Ethiopians especially: also *Columella* gives this name to the Nomades and the Getæ:

*Galen*\* to the Scythians; and *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela* to the Germans. *Jerome*† says, the Arabs use camel's milk. At this day the Tartars are very fond of that drink.

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§ XIII. *The testimonies of Greek and Latin writers respecting Palestine; to which are added those of Travellers.*

The enemies of religion inflamed with ardent desires to fix on the character of Moses the charge of the basest falsehood, because he has described Palestine as very fertile, bring forth Greek and Latin authors, and cite many places from them to prove its sterility; but almost all these places speak only of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which is called unfruitful, and to their testimony that of *Maundrell* and *Kort* are added. The latter calls Palestine an ill-fated region, that suffers for want of water; and why? He saw two rivers that were dried up within twenty feet of their origin. But in this thing *Kort* is by no means a competent judge, for he is a native of Holsatia; and moreover a general opinion is not to be formed from one observation, for a river may be dry one year and this may seldom or never occur again. Also, if the rivers of Palestine are easily and suddenly dried, that may not be owing to the land, but to the cultivation. But no one will deny that the condition of Palestine at this day is different from what it was in the time of Moses.

*Tacitus* and *Julius Cæsar* have written on Germany, and represented it as an unfruitful country, but no one in our age will think of using their testimony, and from it pronounce against the present productiveness of this country. But if we consider the condition and changes of Pa-

\* Lib. ii. ad Glauc. de curat. cap. 10.

† Lib. ii. in Ioyianum.

lestine, by how many eruptions of the Arabs and other nations it has been injured, who laboured to destroy every thing in their way ; it will necessarily follow that, agriculture being neglected, the whole region must have suffered incalculable loss and calamity. If we take these things into the account, it will appear evident that Palestine has deteriorated ; but it is by no means so much changed as the adversaries of religion assert ; so that by the testimony of ancient and modern writers it is allowed to be favourable for cultivation. *Tacitus*\* says of Palestine, it has few showers, a rich soil, and produces sour fruits, and besides them balsam and dates. Thus that author speaks, from whom we find no mention of its barrenness, but rather praise of its fertility. I will allow that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem does not produce so great a supply of fruits as the rest of Palestine ; but I disagree with the opinions of those who pronounce it barren. *Maundrell* has asserted that the land about Sichem is unfruitful, but *Thomson* denies it, saying that the land about *Naplosa*, (so *Sichem*† is now called) is very fruitful ; its hills are finely cultivated, abounding with olive trees, citron trees, and other fruit trees, and watered with clear rivulets which descend from the mountains. *Strabo* is cited by all the adversaries as their favourite author, who is said to have described the whole of Palestine as barren. I will quote his words‡ : “ Moses,” says he, “ brought his people into those places where Jerusalem is now built : which country he easily obtained, as it was not an object of contention, not being worthy of it. For it is a stony place, abounding in water, but the country around is dry and barren, and

\* Lib. v. cap. 6.

† *Neapolis* in Samaria, Ptolem. lib. v. c. 16. *Sichem* it was called in the time of Christ according to *Benjamin* in Itiner. p. 38. By the inhabitants it was called *Mabortha* according to Josephus, lib. v. bell. Jud. cap. 4. Pliny calls it *Mammotha*. At this day it is called *Naplosa*.

‡ In rebus Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 761. edit. Paris.

for sixty stadia, it has a stony surface." It will therefore strike every one that reads it, that the adversaries have been drawn into a great error: for he by no means speaks of the *whole of Palestine*, but of the *neighbourhood of Jerusalem* only: and in what part of the world is there a country that has not some barren spots, if we take even the most fertile parts? It would be more to the purpose, says *John Toland*,\* if the commentators would cite the words of Strabo to the iii. chapter of Exodus, and not those fictitious writers *Aristeus*, *Hecateus*, and I know not what others who have exaggerated the fertility of Palestine. But what *Vitringaf* answered to *Phaletranus* who depended‡ on the authority of Strabo, that we also oppose to *Toland*: for what is brought from Strabo describing the region of Jerusalem as barren, rocky and dry, ought to be received with considerable allowance. For in the first place, if you should transfer it to the whole lot of the tribe of Judah, you would commit a gross blunder. Then if you should apply it to the whole region near Jerusalem on all sides, you would not have the truth. For although something may be wanting, yet it is not so as *Phaletranus* and others say from Strabo: but it is to be understood especially of the mountainous and sterile land, which above the Mount of Olives lies in a long tract eastwardly towards Jericho. Strabo applied that without sufficient cause, to the whole region, and that excellent author who excels in describing other parts of this land, has not used the greatest accuracy, as the learned have already discovered. It is moreover a very false argument to say, a country is stony and therefore it is unfruitful: I freely grant that land of that kind is little suited to agriculture, but it may be very good for vines. The Jebusites would

\* In libro de origine Jud. sect. ii. p. 139.

† Comment in Esaiam. Tom. I. p. 199.

‡ In dissertat. de oblatione sceptri Judaici, cap. 7.

have acted very foolishly in fixing their habitation there, if the testimony of Strabo was true. Allow me to bring forward the testimony of *Aristeus* about Judea. He says Jerusalem is well situated: the region is large and good, and some part of it consists of plain, as that towards Samaria, and also the parts contiguous to Idumea: but some parts are mountainous, where they need agriculture and perpetual care to produce fertility, and from this it happens that all parts are cultivated, and there is a great abundance throughout the whole country. A little farther on, he states, that there is there a great attention to agriculture; the region abounds in olives; it is fruitful in corn, pulse and vines, and it produces much honey. There are many fruit trees, but the palm trees especially are innumerable. There are also many flocks of various kinds, and plenty of provision for them. *Josephus*\* mentions some places from *Hecatæus*, in which the fertility of Palestine is praised. *Hecatæus Abderita*, a philosopher, and a man renowned for his exploits, who lived with king Alexander, and conversed with Ptolemy, son of Lagus, has made mention of the Jews, not merely by the way, but has written a book concerning them. This *Hecatæus*, says *Josephus*, has written an account of the extent of our country, and its excellence. They have, says *Hecatæus* three hundred thousand acres of land, generally of the very best and most fertile soil: for of so great extent is Judea.† *Shaw* also testifies that the greater part of Palestine is very fruitful.‡ Which fertility he makes to include fitness for cultivating the vine, and therefore, he says, the region of Je-

\* *Contra Apionem* lib. i. p. 596. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xv. c. 5. *de bello Jud.* lib. iii. c. 2. et 12. *Ammianus Marcellinus* lib. xiv. c. 26. *Polybius* lib. v. c. 70. *Justinus* lib. xxxvi. c. 3.

† Many doubt whether Judea is of so great extent, but this is nothing to us; we want only his testimony respecting its fertility.

‡ *Travels and observations in several parts of the Levant*, p. 336. *Radzivil's Peregrinat. Hierosol.* p. 47.



Jerusalem is by no means unfruitful. *Thomson*\* and *Maundrell* affirm that at this day there are to be found on the most barren rocks, marks by which it is evident that these rocks were formerly fruitful. There are on them the remains of walls, manifestly constructed to prevent the earth from washing away : from which it appears that these rocks formerly contained vines. The same custom still prevails in China and Switzerland. If the *Talmud* be examined, it will be found that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was productive, and that one acre there was held in greater estimation than the same quantity in any other part of Palestine. Which thing is easily explained : the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was stony, and on this account not suitable for agriculture, but very favourable for olives and vines, from which greater profit was made. For *Cato*† says, of all kinds of lands, if you would buy an hundred acres to the best advantage, a vineyard is the most profitable ; in the second place, a moist garden ; in the third, a willow grove ; in the fourth, an olive yard ; in the fifth, a meadow ; in the sixth, a plain for corn ; in the seventh, a wood for cutting ; in the eighth, an orchard ; in the ninth, a wood for masts. Moreover, *Abulfeda*‡ living not far from Jerusalem and an eye witness, has given a minute description of Palestine and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which I consider as decisive on this subject. And ought not his testimony to have more weight than that of *Strabo* ? He did not see Palestine when it was in its most prosperous state, but long after, when wars had wasted it ; and yet he says, that Palestine is the most fertile region of all Syria, and that it has advantages of salubrity, because it is watered with rain, except only the

\* *Thomson's* Description of Palestine, p. 19. *Maundrel* p. 94. *Arrien*: T. II. p. 204. *Bellonii* Observat. lib. ii. c. 81.

† De re rustica, cap. VI.

‡ In descriptione Syriæ, p. 10.



country of *Sichem*. He says, moreover, that Jerusalem has the richest soil of Palestine. So much for Abulfeda, who is the most credible witness, and by whom the testimony of Strabo and others is destroyed. The bountiful earth pours forth from its bosom its splendid gifts over Palestine, and that part that is mountainous is favourable for the cultivation of the vine, and is covered with trees and various fruits. It is naturally not very moist, but in most places rains descend in abundance. Its waters are sweet, and on account of the abundance of good grass, its flocks abound in milk more than elsewhere. *Josephus* says, since we possess a fertile country we attend to agriculture. But let us admit the objection of those who say, that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is unfruitful; yet the proofs of the fertility of the other parts of Palestine are abundantly sufficient to vindicate the truth of the descriptions, contained in the Sacred Scriptures. As to the testimony of those who have travelled to this land, and affirm that it is barren and unfruitful, if we consider the doubts which arise from them, and their tendency to destroy our faith in the Sacred Scriptures, they appear to be fallacious: for Palestine, even in our days, is far from being sterile, according to *Thomson*.\* That the principal part of this land at the present lies uncultivated and desert, I freely grant, although that is by no means to be attributed to the poverty of the land, but rather to the fewness of the inhabitants and their neglect of agriculture. But if that region was well inhabited and the land cultivated, it would exhibit its former fertility, and would afford more luxuriant crops than the best parts of Syria: and even now, better wheat and other kinds of grain are nowhere found, than the land of Jerusalem produces: for *Saligniac*† says, that he has not eaten any bread so sweet and delicate as in Jerusalem.

\* In itinerario suo, pag. 19.

† In itinerario terræ sanctæ, lib. ii. cap. 1.

*Bellonius*\* says, that the country of Jerusalem, and especially in the vicinity of the city is richly cultivated and contains very fine vineyards. Apples, almonds, figs and olives, producing much oil, grow there. We see every where from the travellers in Palestine,† that notwithstanding the desolation of that country, the fertility of the land of Bethlehem is still very great. *Pliny* says, that the land of Damascus, which drinks in the river Chrysorrhoea is very fertile, and *Strabo* and *Bellonius* testify the same thing.‡ From these arguments and testimonies, I think, it evidently appears, that Palestine has been fertile, and that in our own age the soil is productive.

\* *Observat. lib. ii. cap. 93. Sandy's Travels, Book III. p. 120. Thevenot, T. I. lib. ii. p. 245. Myricke's Reise nach Jerusalem p. 97.*

† *Conf. Cotovici Itinerar. lib. ii. cap. 8. Doubdan Voyage de la Terre S. cap. 16. Savari de Breves Voyages, p. 171. Groebenii Itin. Orient. cap. 27. Rawwolf's Morgenländische Reise, T. III. cap. 22. Breuningii Itiner. lib. iii. cap. 18. Reisebuch des heiligen Landes, pag. 718, 842. Bisselii Topothes. Palest. p. 49. Andrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, pag. 41. Ockely's Geschichte der Sarazenen, p. 279.*

‡ *Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 18. Strabo de Rebus Geog. lib. xvi. Bellonii Observat. lib. ii. cap. 91.*

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[To be concluded in the next Number.]

STAEUDLIN'S GESCHICHTE DER THEOLOGISCHEN WISSENSCHAFTEN is designed to exhibit the state and progress of theological knowledge, from the revival of literature to the present time.\* Its author, the Professor of theology at *Goettingen*, has divided the work into three periods—from the year 1450 to the Reformation; from the Reformation to the commencement of the 18th century; from the beginning of the 18th century to the present time. This history is given under different heads—as, Theological knowledge generally; Hermeneutics; Systematic theology; Church history; &c. &c.

The portion here translated, is from the first head, of the third period, in which the writer, before entering upon the details of his history, presents us with an exhibition of the causes which led to the great revolution in theological opinion, which occurred during the 18th century. To this succeeds an account of the most important works of this period, intended to prescribe the manner and course of theological education, &c. The reader will find the greater part of this interesting account in the following article. As there are few subjects on which information is more generally desired, than the state of theological opinion and learning on the continent, during the last fifty or hundred years, it is probable that the translation of *Staedlin*, may be continued in some of the future numbers of the REPERTORY.

\* The Preface of the first Volume is dated, May 1810.

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EXTRACT FROM

**STAEUDLIN'S GESCHICHTE**

DER

**Theologischen Wissenschaften.**

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# History

OF

## THEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE & LITERATURE,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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DURING this period a great revolution in all departments of theological learning was gradually effected. Like all other revolutions, it was long preparing and its seeds were scattered during the previous period, although that period exhibited so remarkable a contrast with the present. This change owed its origin to various causes, and is capable of being viewed in a variety of aspects. Its principal cause, was the deism which arose in the 17th century in England ; and its principal aspect, is that of a species of deism, which gradually pervaded all departments of theology. It is easy to find many other causes and aspects, of this great literary revolution. Some may even produce many appearances, seemingly inconsistent with the representation just given ; they may appeal to the fact, that deism was zealously and powerfully opposed, and that many theologians set themselves with all their strength against the design of making it prevalent, and of reducing Christianity to its level ; and yet it may have been the main tendency and principal effect of the literary labours of these theologians to render the deism they opposed still more prevalent.

Most of the English deists, attacked only the divine



origin, credibility, and the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures ; the contents of the Sacred Volume were but in part assailed, as the accounts of miracles and the system of ecclesiastical theology ; but the character and the doctrines of Jesus himself, were spared. The latter they generally represented as a pure and popular system of deism, suited to the people of the age. Most theologians opposed themselves to these writers, endeavouring to save what the deists had rejected as unnecessary and unfounded, and to uphold Revelation and not reason, as the standard of religion. Yet many theologians soon appeared in England, who, in many points nearly agreed with the deists. It is true, they did not abandon the authority, genuineness and credibility of the Sacred Volume, and the preceptive and historical parts of Christianity ; but they purged the ecclesiastical system from every thing, which appeared to them inconsistent with reason, and produced systems of Christian theology which were pervaded by this liberal spirit. The constantly increasing power and fame of the British nation, in the eighteenth century, spread its literature over all Europe. The writings of its deists and its theologians, who were termed latitudinarians, were read especially in Germany with zeal and attention, and have, in connection with other causes, produced that great revolution in theology and religious opinion, which has proved more thorough and general in this country, and has proceeded further than in Britain itself, and which has hence spread its effects into other lands. This great change first appeared in the German protestant churches, whence it was extended to the German catholics.

The reign of Frederick II. had great influence upon the state of theology and religion, and the greater on account of the splendour of his exploits ; for the more he was admired as a king, hero and sage, the more were other monarchs disposed to imitate him. He gave the press, in his dominions, unrestrained freedom. and was rejoiced

when he saw Christianity, (which he had hated from his youth,) attacked. He entertained a decided contempt for Christianity, theology, the church and the clergy. He surrounded himself with French philosophers, who were acknowledged as the enemies of all positive religion, as sceptics, materialists, and atheists; he scarcely preserved himself from their extremes, though he would sometimes support simple deism in opposition to his courtiers. Since this period the freedom of the press has been extended to other states of Europe, and most of the enlightened theologians (so called) in and out of his states, declared themselves more or less openly in favour of deism, and exerted themselves in various ways, to represent Christianity as nothing more than a system of natural religion. They regarded this as the only way in which it could be saved or preserved in honour.

The propagation of deism, and its introduction into theology had still other causes. The various departments of natural philosophy, were more cultivated and enriched, they were held in higher esteem and applied more practically to the affairs of life. Miracles were referred to the laws and the powers of nature, and where these could not be discovered, they were still supposed to exist. Hence the desire arose, not to allow any miracles in the strict sense of the term, (no supernatural events,) even in religion; a desire either to explain the miracles of the Bible as natural occurrences, or reject them as fabulous narrations, and to give currency to a merely natural religion, and to represent Christianity as entirely independent of any thing supernatural.

The constantly extending and more accurate knowledge of the history of religions, had also a great influence in producing this change. The history and nature of ancient religions, mythology, and religious rites, were investigated with more critical skill, with more philological and historical learning, and with more of a philosophical spirit.

The many journeys, missions, voyages and wars, in distant parts of the world, brought men acquainted with the state of religion, and brought many new systems to light. Men compared these religions with each other, and with Judaism and Christianity. They found in other religions many representations, many ideas, facts, and customs, analogous to those in the Jewish and Christian systems, without being able to prove, nor even having ground to suppose, that they had been introduced from the latter into the former. They were hence led to suppose, that what had in other religions no immediately divine origin, could boast of no such origin in Christianity: and that what was found in so many other systems could give no distinctive character to the Christian. And to these points of resemblance belonged some of those very doctrines which had been regarded as the holiest and most characteristic in the Christian system. They were thus led to regard as of less importance the peculiarities of Christianity, and to endeavour to raise it to a pure system of natural religion; and whatever from this source was contained in Christianity, and had not found its way into other religions, they considered as its most important part, and in fact as the essence of the religion.

The influence of philosophy upon theology, deserves also particular attention. In the beginning of the 18th century, the philosophy of LOCKE had spread extensively both within and without Great Britain, and had gained complete ascendancy. It denied entirely all inborn knowledge and innate ideas; it taught that all our knowledge, without exception, was derived from sensation or reflection, and consequently that all our ideas were images of objects presented to us by our internal or external senses. It was in this way that *Locke* deduced our ideas of God and morality, and gave himself much trouble to shew that they were in no way born with us, nor unfolded themselves from the mind itself. This philosophy was more favoura-

ble to *Rationalism*, than to the opposite system. It represented all knowledge, faith and volition as arising from sensible things. It thus led to scepticism, by its dependence on the uncertainty, versatility and inconstancy of experience. Although its author adhered to the Christian faith, and was correct in his morals, yet his philosophy promoted infidelity and looseness of principle, both in religion and morality. Setting all this aside, it was not easy to find from *Locke's* system a passage to Christianity as a supernatural revelation, and containing mysteries above reason and nature. This system, founded so entirely upon sensation and experience, excluded from Christianity every thing which may be termed *spiritual*, as founded upon the mind itself, and which was the ground work of *supernatural* theories. *Locke* also, in another of his works, represented Christianity as so rational and simple, that we may without any impropriety assert that it had a manifest tendency to deism. His philosophy found many friends and defenders, especially in France, who applied the principles deducible from it to the injury of all positive religion, and even to the support of materialism and atheism. *BAYLE*, a cotemporary of *Locke* is not to be considered as belonging to this class; his literary character is that of a sceptic, who attacked and weakened all systems of philosophy and theology, and was constantly opposing the one to the other. France had produced little fruit of pure deism; it had either kept philosophy entirely distinct from religion and theology, or it had used it to undermine them both; but it influenced in this way many philosophers in England and Germany, to defend, purify, and more firmly to establish the deistical system.

*WILH. LEIBNITZ* appeared in opposition to the philosophy of *Locke* and the sceptical doubts and raillery of *Bayle*. He admitted, properly speaking, no impression from external objects, not even of our own bodies upon the mind, but supposed that all perceptions and ideas arose from the



inward principle of the soul itself. He shewed especially, that universal and essential first principles did not arise from experience, but were an a priori knowledge. The idea and the existence of God he deduced a priori. His whole system was a firmer foundation for religion than that of *Locke*. In opposition to *Bayle* he endeavoured to exhibit the consistency between the evil which is in the world and divine providence, between faith and reason. In this latter investigation he effected a union between his philosophy and Christian theology, and placed weapons in the hands of theologians against *Rationalism*. He started with the principle, that the two classes of truths, those revealed by God, and those taught by reason, could not contradict each other. He moreover divided the truths taught by reason into two classes, those which were necessarily true, and whose opposites were absolutely impossible; and those which are only hypothetically true or necessary, or whose necessity depends merely upon the order of nature which God has chosen, and which he may at any time alter. With respect to the first class, he maintained that no truth really revealed can contradict them; but with regard to the others, that they might be repealed, and were actually repealed by miracles, which removed the condition upon which they were truths. In this view he admitted an opposition between philosophical and revealed truth. It was not an opposition of reason considered absolutely, and revelation; but an opposition between what was only conditionally true and a revelation which removed the condition. Faith was here not opposed to reason, but was itself most reasonable; it was a faith in the exceptions and changes which God himself had made in the course of nature, and therefore a faith perfectly consistent with reason. *Leibnitz* thus taught that there was, properly speaking, no real opposition between reason and faith, between philosophy and revelation. He further maintained that it was true philosophy, and truly reasonable, to

believe what God had revealed, even when it stood opposed to our limited understandings and imperfect knowledge. The divinely revealed mysteries of the gospel, he regarded as truths which the human mind could not of itself discover, nor establish, and consequently could not comprehend; but yet could explain and defend, since they did not contradict reason, but were perfectly consistent with it. This he undertook to prove as it regarded the several Christian mysteries. Thus he opposed *Naturalism*, and his principles were soon embraced by many theologians to defend their theological systems, and to set them off in a philosophical attire. These principles received a more systematic finish, and a wider circulation through CHR. WOLF. He wrote a system of natural theology, in which he expressly opposed the errors of deism and naturalism, and presented a systematic theory of a supernatural revelation; wherein he endeavoured to exhibit and prove the possibility of such a revelation, its contents and criteria, and the condition upon which it could be intelligently believed. A party of Leibnitzian-Wolfian philosophers soon arose, principally in Germany, and among protestants, but not confined to them, as the influence of this philosophy was visible in other countries, and among the catholics, in the aspect and treatment of theological subjects. As *Wolf* himself became a martyr to his philosophy, and as the theologians of Halle, who were followers of *Spener*, and their numerous party, opposed themselves to the followers of *Wolf*, the zeal of the latter, as might be expected, was the more excited and carried to an extreme. They not only maintained the utility of their philosophy in theology, but they produced a complete system both of doctrines and of morals founded upon its principles. Its influence was even felt in pastoral theology, in sermons and catechetical exercises. Notwithstanding this philosophy had embraced the cause of revelation, it promoted in many a disposition for the opposite system. *Wolf* had laid more stress upon



reason, in the things of religion, than was favourable for its subsequent and durable defence; and he incurred the suspicion of being only in appearance its advocate, while some of the principles of his philosophy were in direct opposition to some of the essential principles of Christianity. He had not been able to prove, that in any case we can with perfect certainty satisfy ourselves of the supernatural origin of a revelation. Subsequently some of his best disciples and followers became open deists. It was through the influence of his philosophy that more systematic connexion, precision, perspicuity, and a more philosophical use of words, especially in German, were introduced into theology, and the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy discarded.

The most distinguished opposer of this system was CRUSSIUS, who opposed to it a system of philosophy, the perfect harmony of which, with the orthodox Lutheran theology, and Biblical morality, he endeavoured to exhibit. This system is unquestionably the production of a philosophical mind, but appears in itself little suited to answer the purpose of an orthodox faith, it was adopted by numerous and zealous advocates, especially among theologians; but as it maintained its standing only for a short time, as it produced no effect beyond the limits of Germany, and as the Wolfian philosophy still preserved the ascendancy, it does not require any further notice.

In France, in the meantime, philosophy continued decidedly inimical, not only to all systematic theology, but to Christianity and religion in general. In Great Britain, sceptics appeared, who, whilst elegant and distinguished writers, shook the foundation of religion, morals and Christianity. In Germany, respect for the Leibnitzian-Wolfian philosophy gradually declined. It was found little suited to purposes of improvement, and not sufficient to answer new objections; fault was found with its method, its proofs and repetitions; it was thus either neglected or

rejected ; men questioned its solidity, and found it more convenient, and more fashionable, to embrace the popular philosophy of the famous French and English writers. From these writers, from experience and observation, from histories and travels a new philosophical system was formed, and various works, some profound and some elementary, were composed. Men became more and more averse to research. This period of philosophy in Germany was by no means favourable to theology. It lost its principles, its leading points, its aim, and its commanding interest. It became a mixture of empirical, weak and unfledged opinions and doctrines. It lost the spirit of investigation, of pure religion and morality.

KANT at length produced a revolution in philosophy, which is the most remarkable of the eighteenth century, and which extended its influence beyond Germany and still continues its effects. He was excited to this effort by the scepticism of HUME, against whom he wished to defend the certainty of human knowledge, and especially religion and morality. It was at the same time his professed object to refute materialism, spinozism, atheism and even naturalism, so far as this last would derive theology merely from nature, and endeavoured to prove the absolute impossibility of a revelation. For all these purposes he found the previous systems inadequate. He therefore created a new philosophy, in which he commenced with an accurate and rigid examination and estimate of the powers of the human mind, thence to determine what man could know, and what he had to do, believe and hope. He presented a system not derived from experience, but from the mind itself. The ideas of religion and morality he evolved from unassisted reason, which he represented as the original principle in religion and the supreme judge in matters of faith. For the existence of God he admitted no decided proof, but a strong moral ground of faith. He taught simple moral deism. He did not speak

contemptuously of positive religion, but taught that it was to be judged critically and philosophically, and also that the positive and historical doctrines of Christianity could be viewed as the sensible and figurative covering of simple and universal religious and moral doctrines. This philosophy had great influence upon every department of theological knowledge, and introduced more of speculation, depth, research, life and interest into studies of this nature. By it the tendency of the eighteenth century to deism was made perfectly manifest.

From this species of deism, various others arose, which agreed in nothing, but in entirely rejecting miracles, properly so called, as the foundation or any essential part of religion. During this century almost every system of philosophical religion or natural theology which had formerly prevailed among the Greeks and Romans was waked up and found its advocates, who have disputed with as much warmth as the most zealous theologians could have done. All these systems were of course set in opposition to any supernatural revelation. Every attempt, however, to make *rational* or natural religion the public and acknowledged form of religion, failed. The Bible was retained as the public standard of religion and morals, the historical foundation of the church, and the ancient symbols were not rejected; but men endeavoured to derive as much of simple deism from the Bible as possible, and introduced it as far as they could into positive religion and church creeds. The later philosophical systems which have arisen in Germany, ascribe much more philosophical truth to Christianity, and even to church theology, than the previous systems had done, although in their definitions and explanations they differ much from each other. *Kant* explained the philosophical sense of Christianity differently from *Schelling*; both, however, wished to honour Christianity as the public religion, and to unite it with reason, with which, from its origin, it was congenial.

The French nation had great influence in a variety of ways upon European literature, and upon theology, during the eighteenth century. This has already been alluded to, but it deserves to be presented in a different light. Among the Hugonots, whom LEWIS XIV. expelled from France, and who settled in Holland, Germany, England and other parts of Europe were many learned men, who carried with them the refinement, to which the French language and literature had then attained; and imparted much from this source to the literature of the several countries in which they settled. Among these were many learned theologians, who wrote upon the subjects of religion, with more taste, with greater knowledge of men, with more ease, grace and eloquence than were then usual, and which were united in most cases, with erudition and research. These men laboured and were imitated in foreign lands. *Bayle, Saurin, Beausobre, Lenfant*, and others, are illustrious names in the history of theological literature. From France the custom spread itself still further, of writing upon learned subjects in vernacular tongues. This especially in theological knowledge produced a great revolution. With the old Latin terminology, which the public generally could not understand, and which scarcely admitted of translation, many old doctrines and opinions passed away. In living languages much could be expressed, for which no proper term was to be found in those that are dead. By thus writing in vernacular tongues, religious and theological doctrines came before the public generally, which they could not only learn, but upon which they also could sit in judgment, and thus they could to a certain degree controul the learned theological order. Theology became more popular and practical, though less profound.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a polemical spirit pervaded all departments of theology. As the different Christian parties persecuted and combated

each other, thus also the learned theologians acted in presenting and promoting their opinions. But as by degrees, toleration, justice, equity and forbearance towards those who held a different faith, and professed a different system of Christianity made greater progress, so a more peaceful spirit extended itself in all theological matters. Polemics themselves, fell into disuse, and what still remained of them, was very different from what they had previously been, they were a mere critique and comparison of different systems. Men sought in their theological opinions and principles, to understand and coincide with each other; whilst before almost every discussion of the kind was undertaken with the view to destroy the opposite party, to cover it with obloquy, and widen the existing breach. The zealous controversy became more and more assimilated, to the mild discussion; and even this refrained from less important subjects, and concerned itself more with things than with persons. Men attended to theology more for their own improvement, than for the injury of their adversaries. Deism which had gradually pervaded all branches of theology, was a kind of centre-point for the different parties. It promoted toleration, because it was itself benefited by its prevalence.

But with the increasing spirit of toleration, a coldness and indifference towards religion, christianity, church order, and unity, gradually extended itself; resulting from causes which it is not my present business to unfold. This disposition has by degrees mingled itself with theology. Upon the whole, the earnestness, the attention, the zeal, the diligence, the strong religious interest with which, formerly, this species of knowledge was cultivated, have declined. In both the previous centuries, the sources and treasures of theology were investigated with the greatest labour, and innumerable and generally very voluminous works were written; during the eighteenth, these materials, thus prepared, were used and ap-



plied to more general purposes, and employed with more judgment ; although really erudite theology became gradually less rich. The different subjects of theology were indeed more separated, and in general they were reduced to more regularity of form ; they were treated with more philosophy and taste ; they were presented in union with more learning, and enriched with the literary treasures of the foregoing centuries. The directions for theological study, works prescribing the course the student should pursue, and theological cyclopedias became more numerous and important. Works of greater or less dimensions were composed, in which were given a systematic view of theological literature, an account of the contents of important books, and notices of the lives of ecclesiastical writers. Periodical works on theology, in every department, Journals, Bibliothecæ, Reviews, &c., commenced with the eighteenth century, and are still continued.

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*An account of Introductions to the study of Theology,  
of Theological Cyclopedias, &c.*

In the evangelical church, great changes have occurred during this period. The old Lutheran system, the centre of all theological knowledge and effort, lost by degrees its friends and defenders; as this was the result, in part, of the more extensive cultivation of other branches of theology, so it operated on the manner in which these branches were treated. The spirit of reform was constantly active in every department of theology, and gave rise to opinions in striking contrast with the symbolical books which men either would not or could not remove. All this happened first and principally in Germany, which was the most important evangelical country, as it regards theological science. Here, where the new evangelical system arose, it



was first undermined. Here have diligence, effort, research and erudition been devoted to this branch of knowledge, and more numerous aids been secured in its cultivation than in any other country. Here have appeared numerous works for prescribing the course of study, cyclopedias, and works which not only prescribe the course to be pursued, but the books the student ought to read.

Immediately after the commencement of this period, the important influence of the school of *Spener* upon the spirit and method of theological pursuits began to manifest itself. According to the principles of this school, more was to be expected in the formation of a genuine theologian, from true piety of heart and life, than from learning; that true theology was not merely a matter of speculative knowledge, but an inward light derived from God, through spiritual experience; that only those who have been regenerated could attain to this genuine theology; that this new birth itself depended upon faith in the divinely revealed doctrines of the Holy Scriptures; that although learning was not to be entirely neglected by the theologian, it possessed for him only a limited and subordinate importance; and that it should in him always receive a practical tendency; that between the formation of a learned theologian and a church pastor a difference should be made; and that the course of public instruction should be accommodated to the latter class, as the most numerous; that to the former a moderate and discrete study of philosophy should be permitted, and a deeper knowledge of theology should be made necessary; yet the purely Biblical doctrines, as to faith and morals, were to be received and presented. They admitted a difference between theology and religion, but maintained that the former should be thoroughly pervaded by the latter. The most important means to be used in the education of a genuine theologian and teacher, should be practical, familiar and instructive lectures, joined with suitable instructions, exhortations, and warnings.

Upon these principles, the books prescribing the course of theological study and discipline were constructed. To this class belong the following works of FRANKE. *The method of theological studies, with the method of Biblical discipline, and the idea of a theological student.* These works are replete with excellent counsels and directions, and are written with uncommon power. They are adapted not merely to direct the theological student, but also to excite the liveliest interest for his pursuits, and arouse him to the strictest cultivation of piety. In the first of these books, *Franke* discourses not only on the nature and object; but also upon the helps, order, and difficulties of theological studies. *Prayer, meditation and self-examination* are represented as the most important aids, in the prosecution of this interesting study.

JOACH. LANGE considered more fully the several branches of theology, and the departments of literature, whose connection with it, was most intimate, yet without neglecting general principles. He lamented the error and the want of order, in the course generally pursued; which he supposed arose principally from having either a false object in view or from having no definite object whatever. The true object he represented to be, to restore the divine image in ourselves and others, and thus to promote the divine glory. In attaining this object, according to his opinion, consisted true erudition, compared with which all other learning is of little account; indeed that there can be no real learning, on this subject, without a principle of divine grace, regeneration and sanctification, and that theology deserves the appellation of *sacred*, not merely from its object, but also from the manner in which it ought to be treated and studied. He taught expressly that in these studies more depended upon the *will* than upon the *understanding*; and consequently that if any one did not prosecute 'hem with prayer and spiritual exercises, his labour would be in vain. He wished that those branches which

depended merely upon memory, as languages, should be attended to before those which require judgment, as philosophy and mathematics ; but he opposed the opinions of those who would require the student to spend the first year or two of his academical course entirely in preparatory studies ; and only after this term, apply himself to theology. He rather desired that he should make theology, from the first, his principal object, and unite with it now one, now another branch. He consoled those who at the universities, through want of time, opportunity, or resources, could not attend to other branches of learning, but were obliged to confine themselves to theology, with the consideration, that these branches were frequently a hindrance rather than an advantage ; and that with a moderate knowledge of languages, and a judgment enlightened and sanctified by divine grace, they could deduce all parts of theology from the Sacred Scriptures. He therefore gives a number of rules to the theological student for the direction of his academical life and studies, in the general, and then respecting the method of studying particular branches, as exegesis and philology, didactic theology and morals, casuistry, polemics, sermonizing, and church history. Exegetical studies he called the foundation, the nerves, and the centre of all theology. He admitted the use of commentaries only after they had themselves exerted all their strength to discover the sense of the Sacred Writings. He discriminated between the external and the internal means of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures ; to the former he referred, sacred philology and archeology, exegetical lectures and writings ; to the latter the enlightening grace of God, a real taste and experience of divine things, and a sound, natural, yet sanctified understanding. In morals he warned them of the dangers of pelagianism and indifferentism. To polemics he devoted more attention, and ascribed to them greater importance than we should have expected from a follower of *Spener*. He showed

how controversies, with the Catholics, the Reformed, the Socinians, the Jews, Sceptics and Atheists should be conducted. As to sermonizing, he thought that the directions could be contained in a very few rules. Ecclesiastical history he regarded as essentially important, and directed that it should be studied from the original fountains. Besides these directions his book contained a compendious view of the literature of the various departments of theology.

The opposers of the followers of *Spener* controverted their principle respecting the theology of those who were regenerated, they regarded much as an essential part of Christianity which the former considered as Scholasticism, they held firmly to the literal doctrines of *Luther*, accused the pietists of hypocrisy and heresy, and represented their opposition to learning as arising from the fact that they could make no pretensions to it themselves. The last accusation was refuted by the character of the authors and disciples of this school, and especially by the writings of J. F. BUDDEUS, his *Historical and Theological Introduction to Theology and its several branches*. In this work the principles of *Spener* are plainly manifested, although it is a production of the most profound and extensive erudition; and it shows how many branches of learning are connected with theology, and to a greater or less degree important to the theologian. The introductory sections on *the object of theological studies*, on *the talents and mental qualifications of the theological student* and upon *the means of attaining the end proposed*, clearly evince the disciple of *Spener*. The investigation which follows, concerning *preparatory theological studies*, exhibits a man, who had cultivated the literature of his own age, who was familiar with every branch of knowledge, and who knew how to exhibit the advantage which theology could derive from each, and yet who was careful not to apply any branch to the detriment of his subject.

The ancient languages, philology generally, criticism, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history in all its branches, the natural sciences, mathematics, and medicine are here all reviewed for this purpose. The several branches of theology to which introductions are given, are thus divided and arranged, doctrinal, symbolical, patristical, moral, with mystical and pastoral, theology, church government, ecclesiastical history, polemics, and exegesis. In this work the history of these branches occupies the greatest space, which not only in itself, but as facilitating the investigation of these subjects, is exceedingly instructing and interesting. This work greatly excelled all that preceded it, and forms an epoch in writings of this nature, it shows that some change had already taken place in theology, and contains grounds for anticipating a still more important revolution. If it be too learned and extensive for most beginners, it has a greater value to those who wish to enter more thoroughly into studies of this nature. Besides the richness and variety of its erudition, it is greatly recommended by its spirit of moderation, modesty and piety.

J. G. WALCH followed in his *Introduction to theological knowledge* the principles and writings of *Buddeus*. This work was properly an epitome from the *Prolegomena* or preparatory course, for the use of his lectures. With respect to each branch, he treated first of its nature, contents and object, its importance, sources, and method; and then of the means with which it should be studied; where we always find the reading of certain works, which are here quoted in great numbers, and meditation and prayer recommended. J. C. ROECHER had before this published a short introduction to the study of theology, in which he treated not only the preparatory subjects, but also of the several branches of theology itself. Among the latter we find, besides the common divisions, propethical, typical, paraetetical, irenical, comparative, mathematical and foederal theology.



The numerous and diversified changes which occurred during this period, in theological opinions and in the mode of presenting them, had naturally a great influence upon the class of writing, we are now considering. New principles were introduced, new questions arose, new demands were to be satisfied; attention was to be paid to new philosophical systems, new objections, new difficulties, and new helps. These books of directions, therefore, differed considerably from each other. The work of MOSHEIM belonging to this class, was a posthumous production; and would not have been published by him, in its present state; yet his spirit is clearly manifested in it; and the simplicity of its plan, its perspicuity, the comprehensive view which it takes of the whole compass of theology, and the characteristic remarks with which it abounds, leave no doubt of its having actually proceeded from him. He considered the proper object of such a work to be, to exhibit the means, whereby a student could obtain a facility and skill in discharging the duties which would devolve upon him as a teacher and pastor. He distinguished it from pastoral theology, which is the knowledge of the official duty of one who is already a preacher; but the work in question is designed to point out the means of preparing for the office, and is principally concerned with what belongs to clerical learning. He considered it impossible to form a work of this kind, which would be alike suitable to all times, and that it was necessary that its peculiar character should be adapted to the age in which its author lived. He found that it was only since the reformation, that such works were composed, or that men began to prescribe so particularly the course of theological education. He very properly introduced a short history of theological seminaries. *Luther's* aphorism: *oratio, meditatio, tentatio, faciunt theologum*, which has been so often regarded as a direction for the study of theology, and which has as frequently been made



the foundation of works intended to prescribe the course to be pursued in these studies, he shewed was only to be understood of those who were already in the sacred office, and that even with respect to them it did not include every thing. He remarked that most authors of works of this nature, recommended particularly the department with which they were themselves most familiar ; that they did not make a sufficient distinction between the theologian and the pastor ; and that they took for granted the time, ability, and opportunity of the student to attend to all their rules. In his own work he distinguished the preacher from the theologian, although he admitted that there were subjects to which they should attend in common. The studies and exercises which prepared the way for prosecuting theology, he represented as equally serviceable to the pastor and the theologian ; desiring the latter, however, to enter into them more thoroughly. He treats at length those departments, which it is requisite for the clergyman, particularly the pastor to cultivate. It may be worth while to quote some of his directions. It is in his opinion, better not to delay attention to didactic theology, but to gain a general view of it before entering very deeply into the study of the Bible ; it would be well to take a short course of theology, that some foundation may be laid, and the connexion, and aim of theology be preserved. Ecclesiastical history cannot be thoroughly studied, before we are acquainted with theology ; and it would be improper to commence with the study of morals, because, constant reference must be had to doctrines, whence these moral duties flow : to begin with deep and extensive study of the Sacred Scriptures, would be a very circuitous way, requiring many years. The study of didactic theology should be connected with the study of the Bible, and in theology, the philosophical and Biblical method should be united ; the system for beginners should be a philosophical catechism, so short as to be easily learned. To his directions for the edu-

cation of a learned theologian, *Mosheim* prefixes the title ; “ *Of the Theologian of our time.*” He distinguishes the theologian from the pastor, principally in this, that the former has no particular congregation, but has to labour for the whole church and train up proper teachers for it ; should the church of the Lord be disturbed by false doctrines and mischievous abuses, it is his business to stand in the breach and endeavour to repress every thing likely to prove injurious. He is, as it were, an eye over the whole church, which should have the perspicacity easily to discover any thing inimical to true religion : a theologian of our time, worthy of this name, is a very difficult character to sustain : his influence depends upon no external support, but he must form himself, and have something about him, which will secure the respect, affection, and esteem of men.

Soon after the appearance of this work of *Mosheim*, *SEMLER* presented himself as an author in this department, at first in a work written in German, and afterwards in one written in Latin. In the former, he insisted so strongly upon the necessity of thorough and extensive erudition, that it was objected to him, that he attributed to it too much importance, that he made piety only a secondary concern, and that he wished to set his method in opposition to that of *Franke*. He was also accused of preferring the scholastic theology to that which was purely Biblical. *Semler* found it necessary to defend himself against these charges, and especially to show that a thorough theological education promoted the interests of religion, advanced pure piety, and preserved it from errors, superstition, and fanaticism. The second of these books was written while he had the duty to discharge, of lecturing upon the extent, the nature, and the aids of theological learning. It was generally the case with him, when he was about to write, that he did not take a general and systematic view of his subject, formed no plan suited to its nature, collected no sufficient quantity of materials, and wrote in a desultory manner, and under

the influence of a few favourite ideas, and thus he has done in the present instance. In this work, there is more that is extraneous than what is pertinent, much which is essential, is omitted, and the subject is not exhausted. In the first division of his work, he treated of the *efforts of Christians, in the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, and the formation of a system of doctrines, during the first five centuries*. He remarked that his chief object in this work was to show, that in the first ages, there was no uniform and constant system of doctrine, of church discipline and government existing, as has since been the case—that the churches and teachers were very erroneous—that many books were surreptitiously introduced—that the spirit of Christianity is now much better understood, than it was then—that in different times, the compass and apparatus of theology has been very different—but that the essential part of Christianity has always been the same, and that it depends much more upon a Christian life, than upon a constant uniformity of doctrinal opinions. In the second division, he treats *of the aids for theological learning*; that is, of Greek and Latin philology, of ancient chronology, geography, and antiquities, of history generally, and especially the history of philosophy; of the books of the Old and New Testaments, the necessity of the study of languages, of commentaries, and translations, of the difficulties in the way of a proper interpretation of Scripture, and finally of systematic theology. The work abounds with historical remarks and extracts, relating principally to the labours of *Melancthon* and *Zuingle*, the doctrinal writings of the Catholics, the progress of the Reformers, the secession of the articles of agreement, and the Jesuits. *Semler* every where sought the traces of liberal doctrines, he every where urged free and independent views. He opposed the system of church doctrines, but did not wish these formularies to be removed: he placed them in opposition to inward personal religion, as if the received system could not cherish

and promote personal religion ; such is his *Introduction to a liberal theological Education*. The excuse which he offers that nothing is said on Ecclesiastical History, and respecting the Fathers, is that his work was written as a foundation for his own lectures ; as though this subject ought not to be treated in a different manner, and with a different object. As it regards Hermeneutics, he admitted that he was not sufficiently acquainted with its history, to treat on the subject. The whole work has a tendency to promote free or liberal theological learning, especially through the influence of history. It calls the attention to some rare books. It would lead us to seek the essentials of Christianity, in a general moral system of religion, and to judge of its external forms, (which are not to be despised) according to the circumstances of the times in which they were assumed. The work however is partial, and considering its object, contains both too little and too much.

For a considerable time after the publication of these works of *Semler*, no important work on the subject appeared. After a number of years *HERDER'S Letters on the study of Theology*, were published. In a mild and paternal manner, he communicated his elevated sentiments, his wise counsels and experience, his views and wishes for a reformation, especially as it regarded interpretation, articles of faith, and preaching. These letters were not only fitted to direct the student in theology, but to render his studies attractive, important and interesting. To afford him rules and examples how he might prosecute them with spirit and taste, and might unite with them more extensive learning and attention to the literature of his age. New views and hypotheses, versions of the poetical parts of the Bible, originality of style and fertility of imagination, impart to these letters new and diversified attractions. Yet they might have been continued further, and *Herder* had better devoted to the extension of his work and promoting the spirit of Hebrew poetry, the time

and power he bestowed on polemical writings against the critical philosophy.

About the time of the appearance of these letters, the German public heard and read much on the necessity of an entire change in the course of study and mode of education of young men intended for the ministry. It was said that most of the studies which they pursued at the universities, were rather injurious than otherwise, in reference to their future office ; it was urged that every thing should be directed to the object of making them useful, popular teachers, and to furnish them with knowledge which would be of practical importance ; such as natural history and philosophy, economy, medicine, the art of teaching, &c. This course was principally advocated in two works, the one by **BAHRDT**, the other by **CAMPE**. The former censures the whole course of theological study commonly pursued, and undertakes to shew that it ought to be rejected. He thinks that almost all the defects of clergymen, may be traced to the mode of their education. He considered that they entered on their studies too soon, pursued a course too short, having no reference to their future office ; that they attended lectures merely because they had to be examined upon them, and exhibit testimonials of their attendance. Exegesis, oriental languages, polemics, church history contributed nothing, according to his opinion, to make them fit teachers of the people, these not being the subjects upon which they were afterwards to deliver instruction ; the lectures they hear do not produce the facility of popularly delivering useful knowledge, nor contribute to form them for counsellors and examples to their future congregations in domestic economy and the common affairs of life ; it was not the theology which they were taught that could make them suitable teachers of the people, but religion in which they received no instruction ; the moral lectures of the university did not serve to form them for their office ; since they were nothing more than a mixture of general and



positive truths, without unity, connexion with theoretical religion, or reference to active life, they were defective in their presentation of motives, and did not point out the way in which men were to be reformed. *Bahrdr* undertook to present proposals for the better direction of theological study at the universities. Under the head of really useful branches of knowledge, he enumerated philosophy, religion of the New Testament, natural history, natural philosophy, anatomy, arithmetic and geometry, history and literature, introduction to theology, medicine, &c. &c. &c. He reduced the whole of religion to mere morality, and the latter into a matter of expediency, or doctrine of happiness. During the last half year of their course he would allow students to gain some idea of learned theology, which ought to embrace the following subjects: a knowledge of what has been added to religion, or in other words of the popular doctrines, a historical view of their gradual rise, a skeleton of church history, a knowledge of the symbolical books, a historical introduction to the books of the New Testament, and theological literature. These proposals, in which truth and falsehood are artfully blended, by which the very existence of the clerical order is subverted, which debar them from theological learning, but impose the necessity of attending to a still greater number of subjects, and which represent the clergy as common teachers of the people, occasioned much opposition from the learned theologians.

It was in part the writings just referred to which induced NOESELLT to publish his *directions for the education of clergymen*. He, in this work, settled, with much accuracy and discrimination, the relation of learning to religion and the clerical order; and corrected the prejudices as to the studies which were advocated as exclusively useful. He shewed, not only what the theologian should study, but also what talents he ought to possess, how he should improve and direct them, and finally how he ought to use



the existing institutions, (the universities) for his education. To the preparatory and auxiliary studies; he devoted the whole of the first part of his work. As to the departments of theology itself, he explained their nature and importance, their difficulties, their relation to each other, the rules according to which they should be studied, the extent to which they should be cultivated, &c. This work is distinguished not so much by its novelty and spirit, as by an admirable adaptation to the wants of the age, by an intimate and accurate acquaintance with all parts of theology, by its practical usefulness, and the skill of a learned theological veteran.

A few years after the second edition of the preceding work appeared, PLANK'S *Introduction to theological knowledge*, was published. The main object of this work, was not to give a new book of directions to the young student; but to excite greater zeal and desire for this science. The study therefore, he thought should be made more easy and attractive. There should be communicated a clear idea of the nature, object, sources and method of the science, together with an account of its history and literature. This work cannot be considered an Introduction to a regular system of theology; yet certain essential parts of the Lutheran system, which many learned theologians had rejected, are skillfully defended.

TITTMANN published at Leipsig, under the title of an *Encyclopedia of theological knowledge*.—1. An inquiry into the nature, extent, and departments of theology.—2. An inquiry into the philological, philosophical, and historical aids in this science.—3. A theological directory, divided into three parts; the first consisting of instructions how to cultivate the requisite preparatory studies, in what order the subjects should be attended to, how the public lectures could be turned to most advantage, &c.; the second, shows how a system is to be formed, or how we should proceed to make a consistent representation of re-

ligious knowledge,—the third prescribes the manner in which the Sacred teacher can most usefully discharge the active duties of his office.

In the works already described, the literature of theology was partially attended to, other works were written expressly in reference to this subject. Before this period, there did not appear to be so much zeal to collect the whole stock of Theological Literature, in single books. These books were arranged either in the systematic, chronological or alphabetical order. They generally united, with the mention of the works to which they refer, the expression of the author's opinion on their merits, and other literary remarks. As these works facilitated the acquisition of the knowledge, of the progress made in the several departments of theology, they have contributed to its advancement. Yet it is true, that it frequently happened, that students, instead of recurring to the original sources of information, were contented with these secondary streams. Many of these works were nothing more than books of reference to what had been previously written, or at most united with a few remarks on the several subjects, of which they professed to treat. Such Literary Theological works, commonly bore the title of Theological Bibliothecæ, or Literary Histories of Theology. Under the latter title, PFAFF published an extensive work; which, however, only in a very limited sense, deserves the name of a history: the quotations of books are heaped upon each other without discrimination, without order, and without judgment. We meet with many mistakes, and many instances of negligence. It however, contains many new and interesting literary notices for that period, especially of English and other foreign works. It, upon the whole, extended the knowledge of theological books. Many documents and essays which he inserts entire, are indeed foreign to the object of the work, but they are generally such as under other circumstances would have been thankfully

received. He exhibits himself as a scholar acquainted with the learned world, and who had prosecuted the history of literature, in some of its most remote and least frequented regions. We meet here and there with proposals for improvements in literature, and suggestions of works which are still needed.

Soon after the appearance of this work, J. C. DORN published his *Critical Theological Bibliotheca*, which is a production of great diligence and judgment. But clearly evinces that he had not a proper apparatus of books, nor an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of theological literature, which is essential for such a work.

G. STOLLE gave in his *History of Theological Learning*, rather a register of theological books.

J. G. WALCH'S *Select Theological Library* greatly excelled every other work of this kind. We must not take the word *select* in the strictest sense. Many of his opinions are common-place and of little weight, yet this work will always remain a production, admirable for the diligence, and for the extensive reading and accuracy which it evinces: the sound judgment remarkable in other works of this Theologian, is conspicuous here. All possible aids for theological literature are here embraced. The whole is well arranged: with regard to many books their contents and value are stated, and also directions where more extensive information is to be obtained. Of many important works an extensive and accurate literary history is given. All departments of theology, have a rich collection of books pertaining to them, described, and abundant materials are furnished for the history of Religion. What related to the Fathers, *Walch* had treated in a separate work. Among the later shorter works of this kind, that of NOESSELT is distinguished by its accuracy, correctness, discrimination, order, and short pithy opinions of the merits of books.

C. M. PFAFFII, *Introductio in historiam theologiæ literariæ*, Tub. 1720.  
*Notis amplissimis quæ novum opus conficiunt, illustrata*, 1724.

J. C. DORNII, *Bibliotheca Theologica Critica*, Jen. p. i. 1721, ii. 1723.

G. STOLLE, *Anleitung zur Historie der theolögischen Gelertheit*, Jen. 1739.

J. G. WALCHII, *Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta litterariis annotationibus instructa*, Jen. i. 1757, ii. 1758, iii. 1762, iv. 1765.

J. A. NÖESSELT, *Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgemeinen Bücher in allen Theilen der Theologie*, Leip. 1779, 2te Ausg. 1800.

J. P. MILLER'S *Systematische Anleitung zur Kenntniss auserlesener Bücher in der Theologie und den damit verbundenen Wissenschaften*, Leip. 1781.

From the commencement of the 18th century, until the present time, there has been an unbroken succession of Theological Journals, published in Protestant Germany. The custom became prevalent, principally through the influence of the learned French emigrants. But besides the example of these emigrants, the increasing interest taken in Theology, and the constant agitation of important controversies in these publications, greatly promoted their success. At first, the criticism they contained, was superficial and unimportant. They were however enriched with interesting articles, essays, remarks, &c.; they contained notices of rare books, of inscriptions and coins, (which had any relation to theology,) anecdotes, unedited letters, historical records, &c. &c. They served as a medium of attack upon the followers of *Spener*, and the disciples of *Wolf*; they for a long time, with zeal and energy, opposed the numerous innovations in theology, and endeavoured to uphold the genuine Lutheran system, until at length, they themselves became infected with the prevalent spirit of infidelity. Their critical character became gradually more learned, profound, and instructing.

In the Reformed Church, theological learning pursued a course analogous to that through which it passed in the Evangelical Church. The fate of theology in different countries in which the Reformed Church was established, was various; but this diversity can be better exhibited,

when we treat of the particular branches of theology. Works of the kind we have been now considering, were not very numerous among the Reformed, nor of much repute. Before the expiration of the 17th century, STEPHEN GAUSSEN, Professor at *Saumur*, had written a *Treatise on the Course of Theological Study*, discussing the nature of Theology, the use of Philosophy, and the method of preaching, which was reprinted several times during the 18th. In this work we remark the faults of his age, but it contains many important observations and directions. J. HEINR. HEIDEGGER, of *Heidelberg*, wrote a *Model for Theological Students*, in which he collected much, which had been previously published in other works, and made many additions from his own resources. He wished that less attention should be paid to Polemics, and gave his work rather a moral than a doctrinal cast. In the *Netherlands*, the sciences, criticism, and the oriental languages, were zealously cultivated as aids in the study of Theology.

In many parts of the Catholic Church, great progress was made in every department of knowledge connected with Theology. They emulated the Protestants, and although no change or improvement was effected in their established system of doctrine, yet they were unwilling to be left behind in the prosecution of learning, and were not ashamed to avail themselves of the discoveries and improvements of the Protestants. Since *Rich. Simon*, the criticism which he directed to the whole compass of Roman Catholic Theology, obtained many liberal defenders and cultivators; although the number of those who opposed its progress, still continued the most considerable. The Oriental languages retained their chairs in the Catholic Universities. Theology and its cognate branches of knowledge, were more divided and more extensively prosecuted. Theological Seminaries were multiplied, and improved. The congregation of *St. Maurus* and the Fa-



thers of the Oratory were conspicuous for their diligence and zeal, and other learned Catholics have by their services in Ecclesiastical history, thrown light upon every part of theology. The suppression of the Jesuits produced greater liberty of the press, allowed the new principles of Interpretation greater influence, and lessened the constraint of pedantry and scholasticism. The strict ancient Catholic system was attacked with the weapons of learning, even in Italy. Many Catholic Princes and Bishops endeavoured, in various ways, to promote the interests of learning; and to improve the method of studying Theology. All this manifested itself principally in Germany, and indeed first in Salzburgh in Austria, in the States of the Electorates of Mentz and Bavaria, and in Wurzburg. Here the last struggles of the Jesuits were made for maintaining their influence. In Austria, in the year 1776, appeared under the Empress MARIA THERESA, *The Instruction for all the Theological Faculties in the Empire*. The author of this work was RAUTENSTRAUCH, a Benedictine, whom the Empress had made Director of the Theological Faculty of Vienna. The whole spirit and method of teaching, as regards Theology, would have been changed by this book, and would have received a completely practical tendency. The Sacred Scriptures were represented as the only proper original ground of theological knowledge. Scholasticism, and Jesuistical Casuistry were prescribed, and Polemics very much moderated. Great stress was laid upon the study of the Oriental Languages. Ecclesiastical History, it taught, should be prosecuted with moral and religious views. The cultivation of Biblical Hermeneutics was expressly enjoined. After attending to these subjects, Didactic and Casuistical Theology were to be studied. In Church Government, the Decretal was no longer to be followed, but some more liberal system. Not until the fifth and last year of the course, were the Ascetic Catechetical or Homelectic departments, nor Pastoral The-



ology and Polemics to be attended to. Under JOSEPH II, the freedom of opinion, and liberty of the press were still further increased. Theology was now from the pulpit and the press, treated in a much better spirit and purified from many of its errors. This liberal spirit had begun to diffuse itself, but political events have since, not only suppressed it in Austria and restored the direction of Theology to the Monks, but withdrawn the attention of Catholics from these subjects ; so that the encouragements of various kinds which had been held out to theological learning, have failed of producing any important results.

The 18th century produced works, which treated of Ecclesiastical writers, their lives, the contents, worth, and editions of their works, much more extensive and valuable than any which preceded them. These works refer so directly to all parts of Theology, (which they have contributed much to enlighten) and have so enriched the history of theological literature, that they deserve here a most honourable mention. We can however only notice those, which are the most comprehensive and important, passing by others, which relate either, only to one class of authors or to one particular age or nation. DUPIN'S *Bibliotheca of Ecclesiastical Authors*, which he commenced publishing in 1686, and completed in 1714, is the most extensive work of this nature. As an Introduction he has given Prolegomena to the Bible. The work itself, contains a Biography of Ecclesiastical Authors, a catalogue of their works, their chronological order, and their various editions ; it presents also an epitome of their contents, and an examination of their style and opinions, with many other particulars connected with Church History and Chronology. It commences with the first century and continues to the 18th. What is properly Bibliographical in the work, is not always sufficiently accurate, the Epitomes are often incorrect and negligent, many articles are of no value, and with respect to authors, not of the Catholic communion,

there is much mistake and injustice. Yet the work possesses and must continue to possess a value which overbalances all these defects. The judgements given are discriminating and liberal, and the several authors are properly characterized. This work procured for *Dupin* two classes of opposers. The one found much that was too liberal and contrary to the true Catholic faith. The Archbishop of Paris condemned it, and forced its author to a public recantation of some of its parts. Bishop *Bossuet* also complained of his style of criticism, and pointed out many passages as erroneous, especially relating to doctrines and Church Government. The other class, on the contrary, complained that his criticisms were not liberal enough, nor sufficiently accurate. This was especially the case with *Richard Simon*, whom *Dupin* had provoked by a previous attack. *Simon* exhibited many mistakes committed by his antagonist, and showed himself his superior, in profoundness, originality, sagacity, and extent of learning, although he frequently did him injustice.

Whilst this work of *Dupin* was publishing, *A Literary History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, by WILL. CAVE, an English Professor made its appearance. This work does not treat of the *contents* of the writings of ecclesiastical Authors, but with much minuteness, details every thing which relates to their lives, to their genuine, doubtful or spurious works. and the various editions of them, and to those which have never been published, or which have perished. This work was published gradually under the direction of *Cave*; and with the assistance of another individual, was constantly enlarged, though it never exceeded the size originally designed. At first, it reached only to the 14th century, but he afterwards brought it as low as the Reformation. It contains notices of all the heathen writers who opposed Christianity. It is divided into centuries, to each of which is affixed a distinct title, as the *Apostolic*, the *Gnostic*, *Novatian*, *Arian*, *Nestorian*,

*Eutylian*, &c. &c. To each century is prefixed a historical view of its principal events, then follows an account of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, in chronological order; and finally a notice of all the ecclesiastical councils, whether general or provincial which occurred during the period.

CAS. OUDIN, Librarian of the University of Leyden, found that the authors who had written on the Ecclesiastical Writers, as *Possevin*, *Labbe*, *Cave*, and *Dupin* had passed over many authors, without notice, and had committed a great number of mistakes. He made it therefore his object, in his great work, which he brought down to the year 1460, to supply the deficiencies of these authors, and present a supplement to their works, without however confining himself strictly to this object. He treated of a great number of unedited, and hitherto unknown works, which he had found out in the Libraries. He upbraided *Cave* with not having read and studied the ancient authors himself, but gleaned his account of them from others, and with having regarded many works as genuine, which are really spurious. Of *Dupin* he expressed a more favourable opinion. He himself, intentionally abstained from any thing of a doctrinal character, that his work might not offend the Catholics; he did not even investigate what the Fathers taught or wrote upon any doctrine, nor did he give any analysis of their works. He therefore had the more leisure to devote himself to the investigation of their history, of the spuriousness or genuineness of their works and their number and editions of them.

LOUIS ELLIES DUPIN, *Nouvelle Bibliotheque des auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Paris, 1686—1711, 47 voll.

*Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria*, a C. N., usque ad Sec. 14, a GULIEL. CAVE, Ox. 1740—1743.

CAS. OUDIN, *Commentarius de Scrip. Eccl. Antiquis illorumque scriptis, adhuc extantibus in Bibliothecis Europæ*, a Bellarmino, Caveo, Dupin, et aliis omissis, Lip. 3 vol. 1722.

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**K N A P P I U S**

DE

**SPIRITU SANCTO ET CHRISTO PARACLETIS.**

ITEM

**De varia Potestate Vocabulorum,**

ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙΝ, ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ.

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# KNAPPIUS

DE

SPIRITU SANCTO ET CHRISTO PARACLETIS,

&c.

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THE word Paraclete is used by no writer of the New Testament except John, by whom this name is once applied to Christ, Epis. I. Ch. ii. v. 1, and often to the Holy Spirit, Ch. xiv. 16, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 7. Nor does he ever use the verb παρακαλειν or the noun παρακλησις; which, with various significations, the other writers of the New Testament books frequently employ. This variety of significations accounts for the fact, that from the earliest times, the opinions of interpreters in determining the power του παρακλητου, especially in those places where it is applied to the Holy Spirit, have been different and opposite. These opinions appear to admit many arguments, wherefore, that those who desire to judge for themselves may see at one view all these opinions collected, we shall enumerate in order the definitions of παρακαλειν and παρακλησις.

And first, among the ancient Attics, παρακαλειν always means to summon—*advocare*; to send for—*arcessere*; to invite—*invitare*; as by *Xenophon*, Mem. Socr. 11. 10. 2. In this sense also it is found in Acts xxviii. 20.†

† Thus *Pliny*, Epp. vii. 17, 12: “Ego (when discoursing) non populum *advocare*, (that is to hear the oration) sed certos electosque soleo.”



This signification of the word is so very extensive, that it designates calling of every kind. And παρακλησις denotes invitation of every sort, and for any purpose. Hence ἀπαρακλητος means, one who comes uncalled, or uninvited, who offers himself willingly for giving assistance or safety; to whom is opposed he who comes παρακεκλημενος. In the same sense also the Gods are said to be called by men imploring their aid and seeking their presence; as by *Xenophon* Όταν τον Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν,\* and elsewhere ἐπικαλεῖν, κατακαλεῖν τον θεον. Those who are engaged in any controversy or difficulty, and are unable to consult for their own safety are said to call—advocare him whom they consult, and whose power or assistance they demand. Hence have arisen these common forms of speaking; παρακαλεῖν συμβουλον, βοηθον, παρακαλεῖν τινα εἰς σωτηριαν, εἰς συμβουλιον or εἰς συμβουλην. † But παρακλησις, in this sense, is chiefly used when any one is summoned to trial, or suspects that he will be summoned: at such a time, friends and those possessing legal knowledge, are consulted, who give counsel, and suggest whatever may aid the cause. There were those also who would give counsel for wages, and if they understood rhetoric, would write orations which were delivered by themselves, or by those who were on trial, or those who managed their cause. Such were many of the orations of *Demosthenes*, and almost all those of *Lysias*. But the most frequent and technical use of παρακλησις and παρακαλεῖν, in the forum, was concerning the patrons of causes or orators who were called to defend a cause. Thus παρα-

1. *Histor. Græc.* ii. 7, 10. The Latins have imitated this. Thus *Livy* (*Hist.* viii. 33, 21.) and *Varro* write *deos advocare*; and *Lactantius*; *precibus advocare*. See *Buenemannus*, ad *Lactant.* I. D. ii. Q. 2.

2. This *Seneca* (*Ep.* 109) and *Quintilian* (*de I. O.* iii. 8. 70) have literally translated thus, *advocari in consilium*, or *in consilia*. *Cicero* says, *in consilium adhiberi*. *Gellius* (*N. A.* xiv. 2, 9) *in consilium rogari* and *Phaedrus* (*Fab.* iv. 4. 20.) “*Fidem advocavit, jure neglecto. parens.*” *Seneca* also says (*Ep.* xcix) “*adversus dolorem et incommoda virtutem advocare,*” and also (*Ep.* lxxviii.) “*vinum virium causa advocare, aut intermittere.*”

καλεῖν συνηγορον, is to demand a patron, or call to his aid any one in whom he puts confidence, that he may speak for him. See for example, Δημοσθένη παρακαλή, (let him call Demosthenes), παρακαλῶ Εὐβουλον συνηγορον, from *Æschines*, and many other similar passages. Hence, not only the patrons of causes or συνηγοροι, were named παρακλητοι as in the following passage from *Demosthenes*, (*Adv. Æsch. de παραπρ.*) Αἱ δὲ τῶν παρακλητῶν αὐταὶ ὀησεις καὶ σπουδαὶ τῶν ἰδίων πλεονεξίων ἔνεκα γίνονται,\* but also the pleading (προστασια,) or defence undertaken by the orator, was called παρακλησις, and συνηγορια thus *Æschines*, Τῆς σοφροσύνης παρακλησὶν παρακεκληκα, and *Demosthenes*, Οἱ ἐκ παρακλησεως συγκαθημενοί†.

Generally among the Grecian orators, παρακαλεῖν τινα, is to ask any one to be with us at the trial, for a witness, patron, defender, (προστατῆς συνδικος) or partisan of our cause, and those in any manner defending the accused, are said to be with him παραγινεσθαι, συμπαραγινεσθαι. See 2 Tim. iv. 16. παρεῖναι, συμπαρεῖναι 3.

† For they were accustomed συνηγορεῖν ἐπι μισθῷ. Compare what *Gellius* relates (*N. A. xi. 9*) concerning the legates of the Millesians, who, when pleading, spoke for themselves, and also concerning Demosthenes, who, at the commencement, strenuously opposed the petition of these advocates, but afterwards, by a reward from the Millesians, was suddenly silenced. To the same must be referred τῆς ἰκεσίας παρακλητος of *Heraclitus*, Ἄλληγορ. εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὀμηροῦ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα, 59. For παρακαλεῖν συνηγορον in the orations of Demosthenes, is substituted καλεῖν συνηγορον ἀγωνι τινι, (to demand a patron of the cause,) or παρασκευάζεσθαι ἑαυτῷ συνηγορουντα or συνερουντα, (to associate a patron with himself.)

† † Among the Latins, also, *postulare* or *petere advocacionem*, is to petition the prætor or president of the court, for time to invite friends and consult with them on the cause in trial. The assembly collected for this purpose was called *advocatio*, and because this caused a delay in the court, every delay or hindrance was called *advocatio*. This is exemplified by *J. F. Gronovius* ad *Cicer. Epp. vii. 11, 1*.

3. παρακλητος also means a messenger who is sent to speak in the place, name, and authority of another; thus *Diogenes Laertius* de *Bione*, says (iv 50) προς τον ἀδολεσχην, λιπαρουντα συλλαβεσθαι αὐτῷ, το ἱκανον σοι ποιησω, φησιν, ἐὰν παρακλητους πεμψῆς, καὶ αὐτος μὴ ἔλθῃς, but not many similar passages can be found.

Amongst the Attics, παρακαλεῖν also signified to exhort, to admonish, to persuade, to invite, and to impel. - Hence παρακλήσις and προτροπή, and also παρακαλεῖν and προτρέπειν, are by *Isocrates* often interchanged, as if signifying the same thing, and sometimes coupled together. *Philo* the Jew, also often uses it concerning exhortation, and admonition of every kind, and writes παρακλήσιν and παρανεσεις promiscuously.\* Nor is this use less frequent in the New Testament, as by *Luke* concerning Paul, Acts xx. 2. παρακαλεσας αυτους λογι πολλω, in place of which is used v. 31, Νουθετων ένα έναστων. These are, for the most part, common amongst the Attics. But when the Macedonian dialect began to prevail in Greece, other significations gradually obtained, derived indeed from the preceding, but rarely or never used by the Attic writers. To this must be referred the interchange of παρακαλεω with δεωμαι, *to ask, to pray, to beseech*, which signification is unusual in the Attic books 5, although from *exhorting, persuading, imploring, and supplicating* (in which sense they use it,) the transition to this signification may appear easy†. Thus *Dion. Hal.* vii. 54, says λογον

4. See *Carpovii* Exercit. in Ep. ad Hebr. e *Philone*. p. 154. Hence, by *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 36. παρακλήτος in 1 John, ii. 1. is explained by παρανεστης, and with *Dion. Halicarnassus* παρακλήτικος signifies that which has power to arouse or excite and is joined with a genitive, as εἰρηνης, ὀργης, ὁμονοιας and others. See also *Raphelii*, Aunot, in N. T. e *Xenophonte*, p. 275.

5. *Thomas Magister* in Ἐκλογ. ὀνοματων Ἀστικων, word παρακαλω writes thus: το προτρέπω, ὡς ἐπι το πολυ και παρακλήσις, ἢ προτροπή ἀπαξ δε και το δεωμαι. See the interpreters on this in the edition of *Bernard*, p. 684, and the notes of *Wetstein* on Matt. viii. 5. It was the custom among the later Greek scholiasts to explain the Attic verb ἀντιβολω, in the sense of asking or imploring, by παρακαλω, s. 9. Schol. ad *Aristophanis* Nubb. 110: το δε αντιβολω παρακαλω Ἀστικως.

† *H. Plankius* in *Commentat. de vera natura atque indole orationis Græcæ* N. T. (Gotting. 1810.) p. 62. "Antiquiores homines hortandi genus, quod hoc vocabulo exprimebatur, referebant nondum, ut serius factum est, ad ea que pro nobis nostrisque commodis ab aliis fieri volumus. Exstitit inde hortatio ad id faciendum, quod nostris precibus respondent, h. e. vera rogatio, que hoc sensu cogitata, facile παρακλήσις vocari potuit."

παρακλησιν έχοντα νοθεστησει μεμιγμενην, και δεησιν αναγκη. *Polybius* also (Leg. 25 et 93,) joins αξιωσιν with τη παρακλησει and αξιον with the verb παρακαλειν, as does the author of II Macab. ix 26. *Plutarch* uses it thus most frequently. There is also the same use of the word, in the writings of the Jews, *Philo*, *Josephus*, and the New Testament; rarely in the Alexandrine version, but very often in the Greek apocraphy of the Old Testament. But it has happened, that this word, like many others, has been enriched by the Jews who spoke Greek, with meanings entirely unknown to the ancient Greeks. For with them παρακαλειν means to *console*, to *calm*, to *assuage*, to *refresh*, to *alleviate*, and to *exhilarate*; and παρακλησις, signifies *consolation*, *alleviation*, *joy*, and all that can in any manner *console* or *refresh*. In this they probably followed the analogy of the word παραμυθεομαι and παραμυθιας, whose form and primary signification is the same, and which were applied by the Greeks both to *exhortation* and *consolation*, and had some other similar significations. *Paul* joins them together, 1 ii. 11. 1 Cor. xiv. 3. Phil. ii. 1; and what the Greeks call παραμυθητικα or παρηγορικα, (consolatory or assuaging,) the Jews call παρακλητικα; and απααραμυθητος, they call απααρακλητος. This use of the word passed from the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, (in which it often answers to the Hebrew word, מְנַחֵם and נָחַם as in Ps. xxii. 6. xciii. 19. Job. ii. 11.) to the authors of the New Testament, and from them to the Greek and Latin Ecclesiastical writers. Thus *Tertullian* says *advocare languentes*, to *console* the weary, (adv. Macc. iv. 14,) and Luke vi. 14, he translates thus, *Recepistis advocacionem vestram*, and in other places unites words that signify exhortation and consolation; (advocatio.†)

† In a similar manner the ancient Latin writers, Varro, Horace, Catulus, Seneca and others rendered the Greek words παραμυθαισθαι, παρηγορειν, and also παρηγοριαν παραμυθιαν παραμυθαιον, which men used in discourses calculated to alleviate or console the sorrows of another, by the words *allogui*, *allocutio* and *alloguium*. See examples in *Mureti*, Var. Lect. ii. 3.

There is still another meaning not to be omitted, which is also peculiar to the Jewish writers, and has arisen, perhaps from that which we have now illustrated. They attribute to it, and with some reason, the idea of strengthening and confirming, so that it corresponds to the Hebrew words  $\text{יָצַח}$  and  $\text{רִיחַ}$  as in Deut. iii. 28, which the Alexandrines have in other places translated,  $\epsilon\nu\sigma\chi\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ ,  $\iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$   $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\nu$ ,  $\theta\alpha\rho\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ . They have even ventured to say  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ , and  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Isa. xxxv. 3, 4. John iv. 3. (Comp. Heb. xii. 12.) This has been imitated by the New Testament writers, who have coupled  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  with  $\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 1 Thess. iii. 2. 2 Thess. ii. 17. 1 Cor. xiv. 31, also with  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  2 Cor. xiii. 2, and  $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 1 Thess. v. 2. To this must be referred  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ , Col. ii. 2. iv. 5. Eph. vi. 22.

It remains now, to treat of the idea of *teaching* and *instructing*, which this word sometimes bears, in the writings of Paul. Although Luke, the intimate friend and constant companion of Paul, appears to use the word sometimes in this sense, as in chap. iii. 18. Acts ii. 40. xv. 31. xx. 2. yet there is no cause why it may not even in these passages, refer to exhortation, admonition, consolation, or confirmation. Paul himself, in Rom. xii. 7, 8, clearly distinguishes instruction;  $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha$  and  $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ , from admonition  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  and  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ . But in other places, it is evident that instruction in Christian doctrine, is called  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . And  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  means to *teach*, to *instruct*, as 1 Thess. ii. 3. Tit. i. 9. ii. 15. 1 Tim. vi. 2. In some passages the interpretation is doubtful, as Romans, xv. 5.

The origin of this signification must be deduced from the subject and manner of religious instruction among the Jews and Christians of that age, which was evidently  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , or  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ . For in the Jewish synagogues, when the lesson from the Sacred Writings on each Sabbath was finished, some one capable of speaking, delivered a discourse  $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ , (See Luke iv. 16, 21, 44.) Not



indeed abstruse and learned, but popular and adapted to cherish pious thoughts in the minds of the audience. Being therefore of a practical nature, it was entirely employed in exhorting and admonishing. Thus Luke relates, Acts xiii 15, that the rulers of the synagogue at Antioch, (μετα ἀγνωσιν του νομου και των προφητων) requested Paul and his companions, that if they had any exhortation for the people, (εἰ ἐστι λογος ἐν ὑμιν παρακλησεως προς τον λαον) they would make it; see Heb. xiii. 22, and Acts ii. 40. This custom, with the same name, passed from the Jews to the Christians, for in their instructions the public sacred reading (ἀναγνωσιν) was followed by exhortation (παρακλησις) 1 Tim. iv 13, where it is joined with διδασκαλία. I think, therefore, it is evident that *Christian instruction* and every discourse (κηρυγμα) adapted to instruct men was by the Apostle correctly and suitably, though perhaps in a new sense called παρακλησις.

These considerations have been adduced in support of what follows in our dissertation, that the readers might have something to guide them in judging of the various interpretations given to this word in John. From the many and various uses of the verb παρακαλειν, among the ancient Greeks and the Jews who wrote Greek, may be learned the reason why the ancient interpreters so often differed in determining the meaning of παρακλητος. Even in those places where this name is distinctly applied to the Holy Spirit, as in John xiv. xv. and xvi., nothing can be discovered from the scope and order of the whole discourse which entirely removes all doubt. Christ, indeed, in these words, Ἐγὼ ἐρωτησω τον πατερα και ἌΛΛΟΝ παρακλητον δωσει ὑμιν, John xiv. 16, declares that he also is the Paraclete, which Augustine has correctly observed (in Joann. Tract lxxiv.) But this passage sheds no light on the interpretation, for *many* of the significations given to this word unite in Christ, and the idea of *intercessor* attached to it in 1 John ii. 1, (where Christ is expressly called the Paraclete)



is too confined to be applied to the Holy Spirit, whose office is there described as far more extensive. But we shall endeavour to examine the different reasons of interpreters, why this name was given to the Holy Spirit, omitting those which are obsolete or unimportant, for in examining these opinions the truth will naturally be discovered.

There are many among the Greeks who, relying confidently on the authority of *Origen* (*περι ἀρχ.* ii. 7, and elsewhere) translate *παρακλητον* in this passage *comforter* (*παραμυθητην*) as *Chrysostom*, (*Homil. LXXV. in John.*) *Cyril of Jerusalem*, (*Catech. φωτις, xvi.*) *Theophylact*, (*ad Jo. xiv.*), and some others. But among the Latins there were not so many. *Jerome* indeed, (*Comm. in Isa. xi.*) translates it *comforter*, but *Augustine* hesitates, sometimes rendering it, *comforter*, sometimes *advocate*, and sometimes both conjoined, which accords with some of the Greek writers, as appears from *Suicer*, who has carefully marked the passages, (*Thesaur. Eccles. T. II. p. 585.*) The opinion of those who translate this word *comforter*, has been followed after *Luther* and *Erasmus*, by many commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this interpretation there is nothing inconsistent with the use of the verb *παρακαλειν* among the Jews, nor opposed to the scope of Christ's discourse, which was designed to comfort and console the disciples, who were troubled and saddened at the announcement of his departure. Among the Jews, as *Lightfoot* observes, (*in Hor. Hebraicis, ad Jo. xiv.*) the name *comforter*, [מנחם] was applied to the Messiah, who, in this passage openly professes that the office of the Paraclete pertains to himself, (*Comp. Luke, ii. 25—38.*)

It is of no consequence, that *Boisius* and *Suicer* have imagined this word to be in the passive form, (*παθητικη*) and deny that it can correctly be applied to a *comforter*, who ought rather to be called *παρακλητωρ*, in the active form, (*ενεργητικη.*) For the Greek Interpreters, *Aquila* and *The-*

odotion, translate  $\text{ד'מנננ}$  in Job xvi. 2, *παρακλητους*; and in the same place, the Alexandrines have *παρακλητορες*,\* and Symmachus *παραγοροντες*. Except in this one place, *παρακλητος* is not used by the ancient Greek interpreters, and never once in the Alexandrine version.

Others understand by this term, *teacher* or *master*, which interpretation *Ernesti* following *Mede*,† has endeavoured to illustrate, and has so established by the authority of his name and a plausible sort of reasoning, that he has drawn many of the later writers into the same opinion. He appeals to the scope of the whole discourse, which describes the actions and attributes του παρακλητου, to show that this name may denote the office of *teaching*, and in his judgment, it is *most certain*, that when it is applied to the Holy Spirit, this word signifies nothing else than a *teacher*. And it is correct, and perfectly safe for any one to suppose that το πνευμα της αληθειας, the spirit of truth, should be called the most proper master of all. In confirmation of this, these similar passages may be adduced, Luke, xii. 12, and Matt. x. 19, 20.

But all this reasoning which is drawn from the context and tenour of the discourse, both here and elsewhere, labours under great difficulty. For it is of such a character as to admit *many* significations, which is evident from what has been shown above; nor does *Ernesti* deny it. It is evident, I grant, that in these passages the peculiar office of the Holy Spirit is described. But does it follow of course, that Christ intended to give an exposition of the word Paraclete? But this word embraces more than can

\* This gloss of Hesychius, *παρακλητορες, παραμυθηται*, belongs to the passage in Job, xvi. 2, and not as Stephen's (in Thesauro Gr. Tom. II. p. 15.) suspects to a passage from some ancient Greek poet.

† In Fragmentis Sacris, recus, Tom X. Opusculor. philolog. p. 249. See Wolfii Cur. philolog. on John xiv. 16; and *Ernesti* Prolus. concerning the difficulties of interpreting the New Testament correctly, which is inserted in his Opuscul. philolog. Crit. Edit. 2. p. 214, &c.

pertain, solely to the province of a teacher. He who is styled Paraclete, may indeed often give instruction, but he would not necessarily derive the name Paraclete from *instructing*. Suppose you should read in some book a passage in which it was related, that by a certain Bishop, Apostle, or even the Holy Spirit, men had been furnished with a saving knowledge of divine things, recovered from their errors and vices, and things of a similar nature, you might doubtless gather from the context that the labour and care of a *teacher* was expressed. But does the context declare explicitly, what each of those words signifies? Could you, if ignorant of the primary and peculiar meaning of the words Bishop, Apostle, and Holy Spirit, explain and elucidate it from the context. *Ernesti* indeed professes to follow *Tertullian*, who although he sometimes renders it *advocate*, yet clearly and distinctly interprets it teacher in these words. Quæ est ergo Paracleti administratio, nisi hæc, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod Scripturæ revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficitur? But there is more belonging to this, although omitted by *Ernesti*, which is as follows. Hic (the Paraclete) erit solus a Christo magister et dicendus et verendus.—Hic solus antecessor, quia solus post Christum. But if I can judge, *Tertullian* in this passage, no more intended to explain the peculiar force of the term paraclete, than Christ does in John. He merely designates the chief parts of his work and office. For as often as he translates τον παρακλητον into Latin, so often, as far as I can discover, he uses the word *advocatus*; and not in that sense, as *Ernesti* supposes) in which the ancient Latins often used *advocatus*, but in the sense commonly used in the later ages.\* *Ernesti*, when he supposes that Christ used this

\* De Monogam. c. 3. extr. In hoc quoque *Paracletum* agnoscere debes *advocatum*, a tota continentia infirmitatem tuam *excusat*. Also, de jejuniis adv. Psychic, c. 13. Spiritus S.—qua Paracletus, id est *advocatus* ad exorandum judicem, hujusmodi officiorum remedia mandabat. Thus in translating John

very word, either in the Hebrew or Chaldee from פְּרָקְלִיט or פְּרָקְלִיטָא (which was formerly used by the Jews,) and that John translated it from the mouth of Christ, agrees, it is true, with *Lampe*, *Hammond*, and some others. This opinion, however, though not entirely destitute of probability, is yet of such a nature, as to afford scarcely any aid in determining the force of the word. For if the import of the word is to be learned from Jewish forms of speech, it must first be demonstrated either that Christ used the Greek word, or that John wrote a Hebrew or Chaldee word from Christ himself, and translated it with this Greek word.

If the use of παρακαλεῖν and παρακλησις be considered, it does appear that the signification of *teacher* is possible, although it is certain that Paul alone uses παρακαλεῖν in the sense of *to teach*; but however this may be, we must not be induced by a single ισουδυναμιας of the word, to suppose that the cause is entirely at rest. It is opportunely remarked by *Ernesti* and others, that the word פְּרָקְלִיט in the Chaldee paraphrase corresponds to the Hebrew word מְלִיץ (Job xvi. 20, and xxxiii. 23,) which he supposes may mean *teacher*. The Rabbins do indeed interchange the words פְּרָקְלִיט and מְרִיץ as if they were of similar import, and explain one by the other. It is probable, therefore, that if Christ did use a Hebrew noun, where John has written παρακλητος, he used מְלִיץ. But it is doubtful whether it can be demonstrated by suitable examples, that among Jewish writers, מְלִיץ and פְּרָקְלִיט or παρακλητος ever denoted a teacher. And first the word מְלִיץ neither in these passages of Job nor elsewhere in the Sacred Writings designates a *teacher*, though

xiv. 16, into Latin, he often uses *advocatum*. (as adv. Prax. c. 9.) Also 1 John ii. 1, de Padicita c. 19, when what he before called *advocatum* he afterwards calls *exoratore*.

such a signification might be kindred with it.† Secondly, which is the very point in question, the Rabbins, among those words which denote a *teacher*, and the office of a *teacher*, never mention מְלִיץ or מְרַקְלֵיט. After having carefully examined the Rabbinical passages (collected by *Drusius, Buxtorf, Schoettgen, Wettstein* and others) in which the Paraclete is mentioned, I confess I could not discover one which imperiously demanded the idea of *teacher*, and to declare the whole truth, not one was found which would bear it. Nor does *Philo*, who often uses this word, ever use it in this sense, but always evidently in the sense which obtains in the Rabbinical writings. The opinion of those, therefore, who translate it *comforter*, is much more defensible from the Jewish forms of speech: for although neither *Philo* nor the Rabbins translate Paraclete the *comforter*, yet, as was observed above, in one passage of the O. T., two Greek interpreters have translated the Hebrew word מְנַחֵם παρακλησον, but מְלִיץ or any similar word no Greek interpreter has ever translated by this word. But in this interpretation, it has always perplexed me that different and generally opposite meanings should be given to the same word when applied to Christ

† Among the Rabbins, מְלִיץ often signified an *orator*, whence the words הַלְצָה, מְלִיצָה, מְלִיצוֹת (chiefly in prose) are applied to an *oration* and to *eloquence*, and the verb הִלְצִין means to speak eloquently, (see *Buxtorfii Lexe. Chal. Talmudic et Rabbinic*, p. 113.) In the Old Test. this word means, 1. an *interpreter*, (of languages) as Gen. xlii. 23, where the Alexandrians use ἑρμηνευστης; 2. a *legate*, who speaks in the name of another, 2. Chron. xxxii. 21. as also by the Rabbins; 3. he who acts or speaks for another, as a *legate* or *conciliator*, (μεσιτος) or *intercessor*, or *patron*, or *aid*; and thus in Job xxxiii. 23, מְלִיצֵיךָ מְלִיצֵיךָ angelus tutor, intercessor, pleading man's cause before God, to whom is opposed שֹׁטֵן, [Comp. c. ii.] that is מְלִיצֵיךָ שֹׁטֵן; (ἀγγελος σαταν angelus adversarius; 2 Cor. xii. 7.) In Isa. xliii. 27, 28 it is applied to the priests, who are the intercessors of the people.



and to the Holy Spirit. And it appears forced and improbable, because Christ, when he promises the Holy Spirit to be a Paraclete, (Ch. xiv. 16) declares that he also is the Paraclete, (*ἄλλον παρακλητον*;) and the Apostle, in the epistles, while he often alludes to the words and sayings of Christ, related by himself in the Gospel, always uses them in a sense, if not precisely the same, at least not very dissimilar. If, therefore, the force of this word can be investigated, may we not adopt some meaning which shall be so extensive as to embrace both these places, and which shall be deservedly preferred to all others.

This meaning does not lie concealed, but is obviously displayed in the writings of the Greek Classics, and also of the Jews who spoke both Greek and Hebrew.

The most ancient writers of the Latin church, both in the *Gospel* and in the *first Epistle* of John, translate *παράκλησις*, *advocare*;\* which signification, I suppose, appeared obscure and remote, although correct. But their good cause being badly defended, and some disliking the double use of the Latin word, this signification was gradually discarded by interpreters. All languages abound with vague and general terms, which embrace many things kindred in their nature; but to such terms, there is not in all languages the same definition. The translator therefore, often searches in vain for a word that will precisely correspond; even if he could succeed and translate with literal

\* We have before noted some passages from Tertullian. Novatian, Lucifer, Hilary, Pheopadius, the ancient codices of the Latin version, Colbertinus Vercellinensis, and others, also have in the Gospel *advocatum*. See Sabaterii *Bibl. Lat. vers. antiq. John xiv. 16, et Blanchini Evangeliar. quadruplex*, p. CDXIII.—Others of the Latins retain in the Gospel, the word *Paracletum*, agreeing with the Vulgate and some ancient interpreters, whose versions are exhibited in the Codex Veronensis, and Brixianus, according to Blanchinus. And in the Cantabrigiensis, whose text Sander has published at the end of his *Paraphras*, in *Evang. Johannis*. In 1 John lib. 1, the Vulgate has *advocatum*, when the ancient Latins have *Paracletum*, which is remarked by Sabaterius. The ancient Oriental Interpreters of the New Testament, the Syrians, Arabians, and Æthiopians retain *Paracletum*.



and servile accuracy, he could not escape the censure of giving an unskilful and unfaithful translation. The ancient Biblical interpreters, who have translated literally into forced and barbarous Latin, expressing word for word and syllable for syllable, have fallen into this very error, so that although they speak the truth, they are yet destitute of credit. Those who condemned the ancient interpreters, may perhaps have been deceived by the modern use of the word *advocatus*, which differs widely from the ancient: but that we may avoid being deceived by it, we shall entirely reject it, in illustrating the import of paraclete, and shall proceed to show what guided the ancient interpreters in translating this Greek word, and what Latin words, according to the forms of speech of various ages, may in these places correspond to the Greek. Let us remember from the meanings of παρακαλεῖν, which we have collected, that it is applied to all those whose aid or assistance is in any manner called for or demanded. Hence the noun παρακλησις has a double import, the one general, the other particular. For παρακλησις, means both he who counsels, aids, advises, admonishes, watches for one's interest, or protects; an aider, counsellor, defender, or guardian; and also, he who conducts the cause of any one in trial, who defends or pleads for him, which the Latins call patronum causæ, (as Cicero pro. S Roscio, c. 2,) or causidicum. But it was thence transferred to defenders and intercessors of all sorts, who for another demanded pardon, and conciliated the favour of the great and powerful. Examples of both these meanings are found in the Hebrew and Greek writings of the Jews.

But this more extensive, and also more rare and accurate signification of the word, has been evidently neglected and omitted by those who have enumerated its various meanings. There is a remarkable passage of Philo, concerning God the Creator of the universe, (de Opif. mundi, p. 4, E. Ed. Mangei.) Οὐδενι παρακλησιω (τις γαρ ἦν

ἑταῖρος) μὴ δ' αὐτῷ χρῆσασθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ εὐεργετῆιν—την φύσιν, in which this term is bestowed upon a helper or assistant who persuades, admonishes and excites, referring to Isa xl 13, (τῆς χειρὸς συμβούλου ἐγένετο, ὡς συμβιβᾶ σὺν τῷ,) comp. Rom. xi. 34. By the same writer, παρακαλεῖν also is used concerning those who give counsel, persuade or admonish, as when Moses, shortly before his death, exhorted Joshua to act courageously, (de Charit. p. 700, B. \*) In the Rabbinical books also, as *Drusius* has lately remarked, the Paræletes (פְּרַקְלִיטִין) of the Jews, Samaritans and Greeks are mentioned, that is, the partizans, friends and protectors, who were fathers in counsel, directors in government, and defenders or reconcilers in war. The Rabbins in other places give to these same persons, the Latin name Patroni, (פַּטְרוֹנִין) and in the same sense, which obtained among the Roman writers, when they mention the *patroni* of the people, of colonies, provinces, and also of freedmen; or when gods and goddesses are called patroni and patronæ.

All these are correctly called paracletes (פְּרַקְלִיטִין, מְלִיצִין.) Nor can πλουσιων παρακλητοι, in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Sec. 20, be differently understood. You see therefore, that the import of Paraclete is very extensive.

But the more limited signification of this word, is most frequently adopted in the Greek, Chaldee, and Hebrew books of the Jews; that is patron, defender or intercessor in a cause. The Rabbins have borrowed from the Greek,

\* In Seneca you often find *advocare* for *adjuvare*, *opem ferre*. as Epist. lxxii. 8, *Medicus—sæpe ad eundem (ægotum) quem advocarat, excitatur.* (Nor is the conjecture of Gronovius of any weight, *avocaverat* or *adjuverat.*) *Advocatio*, Ep. xxii. 9, is used similarly. And Ep. xciv, he has this passage, “Nonne apparet, nobis esse opus aliquo *advocato* qui contra populi præcepta præcipiat?” for which almost in the end of the Epistle is put, *stet ad latus monitor.* In the same Epistle is this sentence, “*Monitionibus crebris opinionones, quæ nos circumsonant, compescamus,* and a little after it is thus expressed: *Necessarium est admoneri et habere aliquem advocatum bonæ mentis, eque tanto fremitu tumultuque falsorum, unam denique audire vocem.*

the words παρακλητος, συνηγορος, (סְנִיגוֹר,) δικολογος, (דִּיקוֹלוֹגוֹס,) which they use promiscuously, and oppose to κατηγορος (קַטְיֹגוֹר,) thence the Chaldee Interpreter of Job xxxiii. 23, calls the angel (מִלִּיִן) who is said to intercede for men before God מְלִאָכָא פְּרַקְלִיטָא, and the Rabbins interpret the Paraclete, by patron, (מִלִּיִן טוֹב) and intercessor. In the same sense, they say that *repentance, charity and good works,* are the *Paracletes* of men at the tribunal of God. Philo too, in the same sense, often uses the noun παρακλητος, and the verb παρακλητσειν, as concerning Macro the intercessor of Caius before the Emperor Tiberias; concerning Joseph who received his brethren into favour without any intercession, and the Jewish High Priest, who, when he supplicated God, used τω Λογω, as if παρακλητω τελειοτατω.

Therefore I think it is manifest, in what sense Christ and the Holy Spirit are called Paracletes by John, for this name is given to Christ, dwelling in Heaven, 1 John, ii. 1, only because αυτος ιλασμος, (ιλαστηριον, Rom. iii. 25,) εστι περι των αμαρτιων ημων, as John himself says in verse 2. This sense is illustrated by these two passages, Rom. viii. 34, (comp. Heb. vii. 25,) and Heb. ix. 24. In the latter, Christ being received into Heaven, and sitting at the right hand of God, is said ενσυγχανειν υπερ ημων. i. e. to intercede for us, to plead our cause, and restore us to the favour of God. It is argued also, that Christ greatly excels the Jewish High Priest in dignity, because he entered not into a tem-

\* See the passages from Philo, in *Carphov.*, Exercitt. in Ep. ad Heb. e Philone, p. 154. Also in *Lasnere Obs.* in N. T., Phil. p. 496. Those from the Rabbins in *Buxtorf's Lex. Talm.* p. 1843, and *Wetstein's* notes ad Jo. xiv. 16. See also that passage of Eusebius, H. E. V. 1, concerning a Christian Martyr, who, in the sentence of the judge was called παρακλητος χριστιανων, compare 1 John ii. 1, with Apoc. xii. 10, where an appellation opposite to παρακλητος is used, viz. ο κατηγορος or (which is the true reading) κατηγοωρ.

Read also *Midrasch Tillim*, fol. 55, a. from these words משל לקטיור to the end.

ple built with hands, but into heaven itself, ἔμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ του θεου ὑπερ ἡμῶν. For το ἐντυγχανειν υπερ τινος, and εμφανισθῆναι, is the province του Παρακλητου, and this very thing by Philo is called παρακλητησειν, (which word Eustathius also uses in this sense,) therefore ἐντυγχανειν κατα τινος, is the same as ἐγκαλειν or κατηγορειν, Rom. xi. 7, comp. also, Apoc. xii. 10. Thus the most profound theologians have interpreted them, and they say that the death of Christ, ever since his return to heaven, continues to profit us; (αἰωνιαν λυτρωσιν εὐραμενος, Heb. ix. 12,) or that the efficacy of Christ's death, in procuring the favour of God, is everlasting. So that he, beholding the death of Jesus Christ, is continually propitious to the human race. Heb. xii. 24. Rom. viii. 26. For the Jewish priests were *intercessors* with God for the people, not with *words* only, but with *victims* and the *shedding of blood*. \*

But in the last discourses of Christ in John, when he promises the Holy Spirit, the import of this term is evidently more extensive. For although, according to Paul, (Rom. viii. 26,) it also belongs to the Holy Spirit to commend us to God, or intercede (ὑπερευτυγχανει†) for us with him. Yet the scope of the discourse indicates that *Paraclete* here embraces much more. For βοηθος or παραστατης, an assistant, patron or guardian was promised, who should be to them, what Christ was while on earth; and the reason is manifest, why he bestowed that name both upon himself and upon the Holy Spirit; for he knew that the hour was at hand, when he should depart from the earth, and return to his Father, c. xiv. 4; xvi. 5, 10, 16. The propagation of the religion lately established, would then

\* Compare *C. Gu. F. Walchii* Dissert. de intercessione Christi sacerdotali, Gotting, 1774.

† John Damascenus appears to have understood it only in this sense, because (de orthodox. fid. i. 10,) he translates, παρακλητον John xiv. τας των ὁλων παρακαλησεις δεχομενον. The same is read in Glossis Hesychanis. But παρακλησις here is not free from ambiguity.

devolve solely upon the Apostles ; who must so labour as to establish and extend what Christ had commenced, but they were disheartened, because they were ignorant, inexperienced, and without a guide, and foresaw contempt, hatred and persecution. Vid. c. xiv. 1, 12, 13 ; xv. 18 ; xvi. 20. As yet they had accomplished or attempted nothing, Christ had done all, he was their patron and teacher, whom they revered, and upon whose authority all things depended. Such being the state of things, what would naturally have been the tenor of his discourse to the disciples, shortly before his departure ? He knew that all power resided in himself, that by his strength he could confirm the doubting, calm the afflicted, and by his counsels guide the unwary in the hour of danger. Hence arose the discourse, (xiv. 1,) beginning “ let not your hearts be troubled,” and ending (xvi. 33,) “ Ye shall have tribulation but be of good cheer.” Therefore that he might comfort the afflicted, and excite them to their destined office, with courageous and ardent minds, he promised them success and the immediate and peculiar assistance of God, so that they would fearlessly dare to speak before magistrates and kings, and boldly and strenuously defend their cause, which is also the cause of God himself. Compare Matt. x. 20 ; Mark xii. 11 ; Luke xii. 12, xxiv. 49. Christ was confident that after his departure, his apostles, having abandoned the errors of Judaism, and the traditions concerning the earthly empire of the Messiah, would by Divine assistance, understand the new doctrine and discipline, and be able to teach men, and to convince them *περι αμαρτιας, και περι δικαιοσυνης, και περι χριστου*. Nor did he doubt but that the seed which he had carefully sown in their minds, though a long time buried, would yet germinate and bear its rich and gladdening fruit, and that their labours being united, more would be done after his departure, than while he dwelt on earth, (Matt. xvi. 18 ; John iv. 35, 38 ; John xiv. 12, xvi. 7.) The change or conversion which would



take place in the apostles and other disciples of the new religion, after his departure is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. He it is that warns, excites, teaches and confirms; who illustrates Divine truth, and brings to remembrance the words of Christ, and also directs the judgement, and prospers all their enterprises. John xiv. 26, xv. 26, 27, xvi. 8, 12, 13. Hence, he is said to be sent from God the Father, and from Christ,\* and to effect nothing, but according to the will of Christ and the Father, with whom there is an entire and perpetual oneness of purpose. Nor is this care and patronage of the Holy Spirit, according to Jesus and the apostles, confined solely to the apostles, but it extends itself to the whole church, and to individual Christians, accommodating itself to the variation of men, times and places. Jesus indeed denies that the world, (τον κοσμον) can receive this Spirit; John xiv. 17. (Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 14,) but he has promised him only to his friends. And this was the common and constant doctrine taught, from the time of John the Baptist, and often repeated and confirmed by Christ and all the Apostles. See Matt. iii. 11; John xi. 13, vii. 38, 39; Acts i. 5, ii. 38; 1 Cor. vi. 19; Tit. iii. 5; 1 Peter iv. 14. And

\* John xv. 26. Το πνευμα—ὁ παρα του πατρος εκπορευεται i. e. sent. for chap. xiv. 16, it is ὁ πατηρ ὠσει ὑμιν, and verse 28, ὁ πεμψει ὑπατηρ ἐν τῷ ὀνοματι μου, also, ch. xv. 26. before these words, is read παρακλητος, ὃν ἐγω πεμψω ὑμιν παρα του πατρος. Whence πνευμα του θεου i. e. του πατρος is found, Matt. x. 20. And because the same spirit was in Christ, and came through him, it is called in Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6; Tit. iii. 5; Phil. i. 19; 1 John iv. 13; 1 Peter i. 11, πνευμα του χριστου i. e. του υιου. (Christ also speaking of himself, says ἐξηλθον ἐκ (απο, παρα) του θεου i. e. του πατρος John viii. 42, xvi. 27, 28, 30, xvii. 8. And generally in the Aramean dialect, which was used by the Jews of Palestine, persons were said to go out as legates from him who sent them.) By the Ecclesiastic writers, the Holy Spirit is said to be the substitute of Christ. Tertullian, de Virgg. veland, c. i. and de præscript, hæret, c. 13; says, Christum mississe vicariam vim Spiritus S. qui credentes agat.



those places in which ἐπαγγελία του Πατρος, i. e. πνευματος ἁγίου (Lev. xiv. 49,) is described as pertaining to *all* Christians who can receive it, as Gal. iii. 14; Eph. i. 13; Acts ii. 33, &c.,

Hence we learn the cause why the prosperity of Christians, and the increase of the church, is by the apostles always ascribed to the Holy Spirit as the efficient agent. And this is that aid, and support of the Divine Spirit, (for according to Paul, Rom. viii. 26, συναντιλαμβανεται το Πνευμα under whose protection and guardianship we are placed,) by which Luke says the Christian Church was enlarged. This passage which has been generally neglected by the interpreters of John's Gospel, is thus; "Then had the Churches rest throughout all Judea, and Gallilee, and Samaria, and were edified: and walking in the fear of the Lord, and the comfort (παράκλησει) of the Holy Ghost were multiplied." In this passage, the interpreters have erred exceedingly, not only in connecting this word with the former, but also in explaining παρακλησις. Some with the Vulgate, render it *consolation*, others, *exhortation*, *admonition*, *confirmation*, and others, *joy*, and some *supplication*, which are all inconsistent with the scope of the discourse.

If this common name του Παρακλητου is regarded as it appears in the discourses of Christ, and doubtless in common use; and we understand by it the *aid*, or *guard*, or *protection* of the Holy Spirit, in which the Christians confided, and which they continually employed; the sense will be plain and perspicuous, for this very charge is referred to the care and patronage of the Holy Spirit promised by Christ, that the Christians might prosper and their number be increased.\*

\* Ἐπληθονετο were increased, or as the ancient Latin Interpreter in Laudian codex according to Sabatier, they were multiplied (by the supplication of the Holy Spirit.) In the same sense, the word is sometimes used in Acts, as ch. vi. 7; ἐπληθυνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς των μαθητων verse 1; πληθυνοντων των

But the declarations of Christ and his apostles, with many Jewish Doctors of that and the former age, concerning the Holy Spirit and his peculiar office, is the same as would have been drawn from the Sacred books of the Hebrews, (in which, as also in the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament,) the Holy Spirit is every where *endued with a person*. That the extent of the office of the Spirit, as the *Paraclete*, may be clearly understood, we shall draw forth from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the description of his office and ministry. From this we shall at once discover that the number and variety of significations given to πνευμα by the modern Lexicographers of the New Testament, is far too great.

Among those spirits (מלאכים, רוחות, πνευμα ἁγγελουσι) with which, though unseen, the universe is filled, and moved, and governed, by the will of God; one excels, who is in a peculiar sense called *divine, sacred, holy*, (קדוש) a pure intelligence, which excels all others in power and pervades, and rules, and upholds every thing. Even in the beginning, in the cradle of the world, when the earth was yet clothed with one wide ocean, this Divine Spirit, the source and principle of motion, was sent from God, and brooded over the water. (Gen. i. 2.) Nor was the creation of man accomplished without him. (Job xxxiii. 4. \*) He being most powerful, (Mic. ii. 7; Zach.

μαθητων elsewhere, προσετθησαν, as ch. ii. 41, 47, v. 14, xi. 24.—Falsely rendered in the Vulgate Ecclesia—consolatione Sancti Spiritus *replebatur*, which interpretation imposed on Augustine, Erasmus, and many others.

\* Philo de Gigant. p. 265, Ed. Mangei: “*Dei Spiritus dicitur primum aër fluens supra terram, tertium elementum, quod supra aquam vehitur: henee he says, in oppificio mundi, Spiritus Dei super aquam ferebatur; (aër enim, cum sit levis attollitur et sursum fertur, ejusque basis est aqua;) deinde: immortalis illa scientia, cujus omnis sapiens fit particeps. Id ostenditur in artifice et opifice sacri operis, (Beseleete, Ex. xxxi. 3.)* Compare his *Allegor. Lib. i. p. 50—52*. I dare not, indeed, positively deny that Moses, when he wrote this did not think of *air* or *wind*, but Philo and his followers deserve censure, because they have not only in *name* but in fact, disjoined that *immortal intelligence* from this Spirit. Thus the interpreters of Homer, measuring the learn-

iv. 6,) endues man with power and strength for deeds of greatness. For without his inspiration and impulse, the might and vigor of man is utterly powerless, Num. xxvii. 18; Judg. xi. 29, xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14. He knows all things,—nothing can escape his searching vision, Ps. cxxxix. 1; Is. xl. 3, (Wisdom ix. 17.) He is the source and the dispenser of wisdom, and every art and science in which men excel, so that he is correctly and appropriately styled the *spirit of wisdom, of understanding, and of knowledge*. Ex. xxviii. 3, xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31; Deut. xxxiv. 9; Is. xi. 2. The prophets receive his power, when they foretell future events, or exhibit prodigies and miracles, Gen. xli. 38; Num. xxiv. 2; Is. xlii. 1; Joel iii. 1.\* By the same spirit also God provides for men, and bestows *benefits* upon them. Wherefore, when they receive great and remarkable benefits, this spirit is said to be given them, and to be poured out upon them, Ps. cxliii. 10; Is. xxxii. 15, xlii. 3; Aag. ii. 6. Still further, every institution of religion, the moral discipline and improvement of the soul, piety towards God, and duty towards men, are derived from him; both in the ancient books of

ing of the ancient poet by their own, have reduced the simplicity of the pristine age, to a philosophical subtlety. In the infancy of a people, before philosophy is known, they supposed a spirit to have corporeal form, and yet *ærial*. Every thing that has life and motion, is governed by a *Spirit*. Such is the nature which moves and animates the human body. It is derived from the Divine power, and when the body dies it will return to him who breathed it into the body. Gen. ii. 7; Eccl. xii. 7. See Comment. iii. p. 88, and *Koesleri* Dissert. de Philosoph. vet. Eccl. de Spiritu. Tubing. 1783. It must be confessed, that the opinions of remote ages, concerning such things, are very obscure and inexplicable. Hence the Theologians of the schools, who have attempted to explain them and adapt them to the precepts of modern philosophy, have fallen into so many difficulties.

\* Hence the prophets themselves were called קְדוּשִׁים ἁγιοι, θειοι, ἀνθρώποι θεου, θεοπροποι (Hom. Il. xii. 228.) See what I have gathered from sacred and profane writers for illustrating the opinion of antiquity, in Comment. i. p. 29 and 36; to which add these passages of Homer, Odyss. i. 200, 201, xv. 172.

the Bible, (as Gen. vi. 3 ; Isa. lix. 21,) and in those of a later age, (as Neh. ix. 20, 30 ; Ezek. xxxvi. 27, xxxvii. 14. xxxix. 29 ; Zach. xii. 10 ; Wisd. i. 5 ; Sirach i. 9.) On the other hand, he who is overwhelmed with fear, who distrusts himself and fortune, who feels unfit for great enterprises, who is borne down by calamity, who is afflicted with delirium or madness, who is an idiot, who is a notorious sinner, who indulges impious thoughts of God, and who teaches or prophecies falsehood, is said to be destitute of the Holy Spirit, and to be led by a *false Spirit*, either tempting him willingly, or sent from God, 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23, xviii. 10, xix. 9 ; Ps. li. 13, lxxxviii. 49, (comp. Luke xiii. 11 ; 2 Cor. xii. 9.) 1 Kings xxii. 22, 23. Thus the Holy Spirit is said to be grieved and offended with disobedience and immorality, Is. lxiii. 10 ; (comp. Ex. xxiii. 21.) But this same Spirit after his influences had ceased among the Jews, (John xiv. 17 ; Gal. iii. 2.) passed immediately to that new society, whose author and framer was Christ. From him was now derived all the divine benefits bestowed upon the worshippers of Christ, and all the virtue which distinguished them from other men ; while the opposite was attributed to an *evil spirit*, the author of all evil and misery, comp. Luke xi. 13 ; Mark iii. 29, 30 ; Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12 ; 1 John iv. 4 ; 1 Cor. ii. 12. By this Holy Spirit Christ himself was led, employing him as an aid in acting and speaking, John iii. 24 ; Matt. iii. 16, xii. 28 ; John i. 32, 33 ; Luke iv. i.

He was also the author of the Christian doctrine (which is sometimes called πνευμα,) for He knows all things παντα ερνευα, και τα βαθη του θεου, 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, and therefore he is called Πνευμα σοφιας, αποκαλυψεις, γνωσεως, (Eph. i. 17,) by whom all μυστηρια are revealed and illustrated, Eph. iii. 5. Therefore the instruction of the Apostles and other teachers, who were inspired by that Spirit, obtained from God through Christ, was true and free from error, because ευηγγελισαντο εν Πνευματι αγιω αποσταλεντι απ ουρανου, 1 Pet. i.

12. Therefore, what they decreed, are called the decrees of the Holy Spirit, Acts xv. 28 ; Matt. xviii. 18. Whoever contemned and despised them, despised and rejected God and the Holy Spirit, Matt. xii. 31 ; Acts v. 39. The teachers and rulers of Christian Churches, also are said to be constituted by the Holy Spirit, Acts xx. 28. Whatever was, by the Pagans, as by Socrates, ascribed to το δαιμονιον, whose power is upon us ; was by the Christians, referred not to some *unknown God*,\* but to the Holy Spirit. For those internal emotions of the soul, which impelled them to action, and that boldness and eagerness in teaching and defending the doctrine of Christ, and the power of working miracles, they did not attribute to themselves, nor to external causes, but to the indwelling Spirit of holiness, Matt. x. 18—20 ; 2 Tim. i. 7 ; 1 Thess. i. 5. ; 1 Cor. xii. xiii. Likewise, if any one was destitute of that bravery of soul, and did not feel himself inwardly impelled to speak and act, he was said to be forbidden or hindered by the Holy Spirit, Acts xvi. 6, 7. But these things were peculiar and unusual among Christians, for it was not expedient that all should teach, prophecy and work miracles, (1 Cor. xii. 4, xiii ; Heb. ii 4,) while other things, derived from the same Spirit, were common to all, διαιρεσεις χαρισματων εισι, το δε αυτο Πνευμα. Those gifts which did not belong to all, but were peculiar, were according to Paul temporary ; (1 Cor. xiii. 8—13, compared with xiv. 20 ; Eph. iv. 11—14.) for gifts of this kind could not be abiding and perpetual. Those *common* gifts, which were no less *divine* than the others, were perpetual, and never ceased from the church ; for if any so honoured Christ as to direct their life by his precepts and instructions, they were continually led by the Spirit of God, and no longer followed, τω Πνευματι and ἄρχονται του κοσμου (1 John iv. 4 ; 1

\* Seneca, Ep. xli., In unicoque virorum bonorum (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus.



Cor. ii. 12.) or τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ νυν ἐνεργούντι ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας, Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12. Therefore as all error, baseness, depravity and great wickedness, was ascribed to an *evil spirit*; so morality, piety, and the Christian virtues were ascribed to the *Holy Spirit*; by his influence, our lives are reformed and we are induced to cherish and practice virtue, Rom. vii. 6, viii. 1—4; Gal. v. 16—18, 22; 1 Cor. vi. 10, 11, 19; 1 Pet. i. 22; Eph. v. 18. To him is owing every Christian enterprize, and all the increase of the Christian Church, κατὰ τὸν ἐσῶ ἀνθρώπων, Eph. iii. 16; from him is derived all the joy and peace of the soul, and the saving efficacy of the Christian doctrines (1 Thess. i. 6.)

All who obey this spirit, he aids in affliction, (συναντιλαμβάνεται,) conducts their affairs, and intercedes for them before God, ὑπερῶντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, Rom. viii. 26, 27; but those who are vicious and corrupt, grieve him, and cause him to depart, Eph. iv. 30. Those who surrender entirely to the demands of Christ, and obey the precepts and instructions of God, know that they are approved of God, and indulge a hope of eternal life, the strength of this conviction, and the consciousness of every pious man is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, Rom. v. 5, viii. 16; Gal. iv. 6; Eph. i. 13, 14, iv. 30; 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5.

For this Spirit, therefore, whose offices are described by Christians as so many and so various, could there be any name discovered which would embrace at once all its offices and duties more naturally than *Paraclete*.

It remains now to illustrate the Latin words which may correspond to the Greek. I have before stated that the ancient Latin interpreters had incurred a causeless censure, because they translated παρακλητον, *advocatus*; for among the Latins this word was differently used in different ages. According to the common forms of speech which obtained in the Roman forum, while the republic flourished, the Greek word may be translated *advocatus*, when applied to the



Holy Spirit, but it must be rendered patron, (*patronum causæ*) when applied to Christ. Asconius remarks ad Ciceronis Divinitat. in Q. Cæcil. c. 4, Qui defendit alterum in judicio, aut *patronus* dicitur, si orator est; aut *advocatus* si aut jus suggerit, aut præsentiam suam commodat amico.\* For when a cause was pending, the friends of the parties were *invited* (*advocari*) to deliberate concerning it, to give counsel, to be present at the trial, and to sit in the same seat with the accused, that they might honour him, and show that they were ready to defend him, even though they might say or do nothing. And not only the accused but the accusers also, invited friends to the cause, whose office and attendance were called *advocatio*. Such *advocates* are often mentioned in the Writings of Plautus, Terence, Varro, Cicero and Livy, and are different from the *patrons of causes*.† But after the liberty of the republic was gone, the signification of the Latin word began to extend, in correspondence with the Greek, whose import was the same. For the next age not only called him, *advocate*, who admonished, persuaded and supported his friend, but also him who in the former age was called *patron of the cause*. The legal form it is true remained the same, but the name *advocate* gradually changed from him who aided a friend by his presence and counsel to a mere barrister. In this sense Quinetillian, Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius frequently use the words *advocari*, *advoca-*

\* Compare also, Laurent Valla, de ling Lat. elegantia, lib. 4, c. xii.

† This was the common use of the word *advocatus*, among writers of the golden age. See I. F. Gronovius ad Senecæ Librum de Clement. c. 19. I will not deny that *Patronos causarum*, according to the custom of the Greeks, were by these writers sometimes called, *advocatos*. Certainly by Cicero, de Or. ii. 47, and by Livy iii. 44—46, those are called *advocati* who defended in the forum, the cause of any one; (compare Dion. Hal. xi. p. 717, Ed. Sylburg, where παρακληται is found.) But as παρακαλεῖν among the Greek orators, meant to *bring a witness*, so by Plautus, a *witness* is called *advocatus*, Pœn. iii. 5, 22, and 6, 11.

*lio* and *advocatum*.\* Therefore if we adopt the signification of the later age, which, to use the words of Ulpian, (Dig. de. var. et extraord. cognit.) *advocatos accepit omnes omnino, qui causis agendis quoque studio operantur*, there is no cause why *παρακλητον* may not, with the Vulgate and other Latin interpreters, be rendered *advocatum*. Nor must it be supposed that *παρακλητος* is one of those words which, to preserve the ancient Roman mode of expression, cannot be expressed by one Latin word. Cicero relates that *Σωτηρ* was of this kind in his time, (Verr. ii. 63.) We may according to the use of the ancient Latins, render it *patronum*, with its general import when applied to the Holy Spirit, and in its peculiar sense when applied to Christ, for the word *patron* may be so extended as to embrace all those who successfully perform any duty† for others. Thus according to the institute of Romulus, the common people adopted *patrons* from among the powerful, who embraced their *clients* with *paternal* care, defended their rights and avenged their injuries. Freedmen also called their Lords who had freed them, *patrons*. We are told also of patrons of the city, of the Senate and the legions; (who are elsewhere called guards, preservers, and presidents;) and among the Gods, those are called *patrons*, who in the next age were called *tutelary*. (See Macrobius Saturn, iii. 9.) Those, likewise, who made a treaty with conquered cities or nations,‡ were, according to the custom of the ancients called *patrons*. Such were the *patrons*

\* See Quinctillian de I. O. iv. 1, xii, 1, 25, (other passages from the same writer may be found in Indice Gesneriano li. vv.) also Tacitus Ann xi. 5; Pliny, Ep. i. 22, v. 4 and 8, and Suetonius. Claud. 15, and de ill. Gramm. c. 22. But the most remarkable passage is from the author's Dialogus de causis corrupt. eloqu. cap. i., "Horum temporum disertis *causidici, et advocati, et patroni, et quidvis potius, quam oratores vocantur.*"

† " *Patronus* aut temporale nomen est defensoris, aut certe appellatio, per quam ostenditur, quid illi cultus, aut obsequii debeatur."

‡ Cicero de Off. i. 11. Compare Plinii Epp. iv. 1, 4, and Suetonii Aug. c. 17, also Tiber. c. 6.

of Antium, Sicily, Bononia, the Sabine fields, Cyprus and other provinces, (comp. Livy. ix. 20, and others.) But since it pertained to the office of a patron, that he should be present at the trial of his *clients* and defend their cause, the name was gradually transferred to those who defended the accused and plead their cause in trial. Therefore, when barristers are called *patrons* or *patrons of causes*, and those whom they defend, *clients*, the word is used in its most confined signification.

We should learn from this discussion, what is continually urged by Christ and his Apostles, that we should own the Spirit by whose will all things are governed, who overrules the affairs of Christians, not only in general but in particular. For they admonish us continually to consider that this Divine Power is always present and beholding us, that he dwells in our souls, and that a good conscience, the promotion of virtue, every benefit, and the security of a happy and tranquil life, must be referred solely to him. Those, who remember these things will never so act as to defile, by baseness and depravity, that temple which the Holy Spirit has consecrated to God, (1 Cor. iii. 16.) The Spirit of God is not grieved with impunity, but he is grieved with all sin, nor will he suffer vicious intercourse. The following is a remarkable sentiment, and worthy the religion of Christ, though spoken by a Stoic philosopher :\* *Prope est a te deus, tecum est intus est. Ita dico, sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorum que nostrorum observator et custos : hic prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. Bonus vir sine deo nemo est. An potest aliquis supra fortunam, nisi ab illo adjutus exurgere ? Ille dat consilia magnifica, et erecta. In unoquoque virorum bonorum habitat deus.—Vis istuc divina descendit.—Non potest res tanta sine admiciculo numinis stare.*

\* Seneca, Epist. xli. 1, 4, 5.

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**WARBURTON**

ON

**Types and Secondary Senses,**

FROM HIS

**DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES,**

BOOK VI., SEC. VI.

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\* It being of the highest importance to revelation in general, and not a little conducive to the support of arguments for the divine legation of Moses in particular, to show the logical truth and propriety of types in action, and secondary senses in speech, I shall take this opportunity to examine the matter to the bottom. For having occasionally shewn, in several parts of the preceding discourse, that the referenees in the old law to the Christian dispensation (of which we hold it to be the foundation and preparative) are in typical representations, and secondary senses; and the truth of Christianity depending on the real relations (which are to be discovered by such referenees) between the two dispensations, it will be incumbent on me to prove the logical truth and propriety of types in action, and secondary senses in speech.

And I enter on the subject with the greater pleasure, as one of the most plausible books ever wrote against Christianity is entirely levelled at them. In this enquiry I shall pursue the same method I have hitherto taken with infidel writers; examine only the grounds and principles on which they go, and having removed and overthrown them, in as few words as I am able, leave the superstructure to support itself as it may.

\* Concluding paragraph of the 5th Section of the 6th Book of the Divine Legation.

# WARBURTON

ON

## Types and Secondary Senses.

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THE book I speak of, is entitled, a discourse of the grounds and reasons of the Christian religion, written, as is generally supposed, by Mr. Collins; a writer, whose dexterity in the arts of controversy was so remarkably contrasted by his abilities in reasoning and literature, as to be ever putting one in mind of what travellers tell us of the genius of the proper Indians, who, although the veriest bunglers in the fine arts of manual operation, yet excell all mankind in every slight and trick of Legerdemain.

The purpose of his book is to prove Jesus an impostor; and his grand argument stands thus—Jesus (as he shews) claims under the promised Messiah of the Jews, and so proposes himself as the deliverer prophesied of in their sacred books; yet (as he attempts to shew) none of those prophecies can be understood of Jesus but in a secondary sense only; now a secondary sense (as he pretends) is fanatical, chimerical, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation; consequently Jesus not being prophesied of in the Jewish writings, his pretensions are false and groundless. His conclusion, the reader sees, stands on the joint support of these two propositions, that there is no Jewish prophecy which relates to Jesus in a primary sense; and that a secondary sense is enthusiastical and un-



scholastic. If either fail, his phantom of a conclusion sinks again into its original nothing.

Though I shall not omit occasionally to confute the first, yet it is the falsehood of the second I am principally concerned to expose. That there are Jewish prophecies which relate to Jesus in their direct and primary sense, has been proved by an excellent prelate with great force of reason and learning ; but, that secondary prophecies are not enthusiastical and unscholastic, has not been shewn and insisted on by the writers on this question with the same advantage. The truth is, the nature of a double sense in prophecies has been so little seen or enquired into, that even some divines who agree in nothing else, have agreed to second this assertion of Mr. Collins, and with the same frankness and confidence to pronounce that a double sense is enthusiastical and unscholastic. To put a stop therefore to this growing evil, so fatal to revelation, is not amongst the last purposes of the following discourse.

I. It hath been shewn, that one of the most ancient and simple modes of human converse was communicating the conceptions by an expressive action. As this was of familiar use in civil matters, it was natural to carry it into religious. Hence it is we see God delivering his instructions to the prophet, and the prophet God's commands to the people in this very manner. Thus far the nature of the action, both in civil and religious matters, is exactly the same.

But in religion it sometimes happens that a standing information is necessary, and there the action must be continually repeated. This is done by holding out the truth (thus to be preserved) in a religious rite. Here then the action begins to change its nature ; and, from a mere significative mark, of only arbitrary import, like words or letters, becomes an action of moral import, and so acquires the new specific name of Type. Thus God, intending to record the future sacrifice of Christ in action,

did it by the periodic sacrifice of a lamb without blemish. This was not merely significative of Christ, which any other expressive action might have been, but was likewise a type of him ; because that sacrifice being a religious rite, it had a moral import, under the Jewish dispensation.

Again it hath been shewn how, in the gradual cultivation of speech, the expression by action was improved and refined into an allegory or parable ; in which the words carry a double meaning ; having, besides their obvious sense that serves only for the envelope, a more material and secret one. With this figure of speech all the moral writings of antiquity abound. But when it is transferred, from civil use into religious, and employed in the writings of inspired men, to convey information of particular circumstances, in two distinct dispensations, to a people who had an equal concern in both, it is then what we call a double sense ; and undergoes the very same change of nature with an expressive action converted into a type ; that is, both the meanings in the double sense are of moral import ; whereas in the Allegory one only is so : and this, which arises out of the very nature of their conversion, from civil to religious matters, is the only difference between expressive actions and types, and between allegories and double senses.

From hence it evidently appears, that as types are only religious expressive actions, and double senses are only religious allegories, and receive no change but what the very manner of bringing those civil figures into Religion necessarily induces, they must needs have, in this their translated state, the same logical fitness they had in their native. Therefore, as expressive actions and allegories, in civil discourses are esteemed proper and reasonable modes of information, so must types and double senses in religious ; for the end of both is the same, namely, communication of knowledge. The consequence of this is, that our Author's proposition,—a secondary or double sense is en-

thusiastical and unscholastic, the necessary support of his grand argument, is entirely overthrown.

This is the true and simple origin of types and double senses, which our adversaries, through ignorance of the rise and progress of speech, and for want of knowing ancient manners, have insolently treated as the mere issue of the distempered brain of visionaries and enthusiasts.

II. Having thus shown their logical propriety, or that they are rational modes of information, I come now to vindicate their religious use, and to show that they are well suited to that religion in which we find them employed. An objection, which I conceive, may be made to this use, will lead us naturally into our argument. The objection is this: I have shown that these oblique modes of converse, though at first invented out of necessity, for general information, were employed at length, to a mysterious secretion of knowledge; which, though it might be expedient, useful, and even necessary both in civil matters and in false religion, could never be so in the true; for true religion having nothing to hide from any of its followers, types and double senses (the same mysterious conveyance of knowledge in Sacred matters, which allegorical words or actions are in civil,) were altogether unfit to be employed in it.

To this I answer, the Jewish Religion, in which these types and secondary senses, we say, are found, was given to one single people only, as the Christian is offered to all mankind: now the Christian, as our adversary\* himself,

\* "Christianity is founded on Judaism, and the New Testament on the Old; and Jesus is the person said in the New Testament to be promised in the Old, under the character of the Messiah of the Jews, who, as such only, claims the obedience and submission of the world. Accordingly it is the design of the authors of the New, to prove all the parts of Christianity from the Old Testament, which is said to contain the words of eternal life, and to represent Jesus and his apostles as fulfilling by their mission, doctrines, and works, the predictions of the Prophets, the historical parts of the Old Testament, and the Jewish law; which last is expressly said to prophesy of, or testify Christianity." *Grounds and Reasons, &c.* p. 4, 6.

labours to prove, professes to be grounded on the Jewish. If therefore Christianity was not only professedly, but really grounded on Judaism (and the supposition is strictly logical in a defence of types and double senses, whose reality depends on the reality of that relation,) then Judaism was preparatory to Christianity, and Christianity the ultimate end of Judaism. But it is not to be supposed that there should be an entire silence concerning this ultimate religion during the preparatory, when the notice of it was not only highly natural but expedient. 1. First, to draw those under the preparatory religion, by just degrees to the ultimate; a provision the more necessary, as the nature and genius of the two religions were different, the one carnal, the other spiritual. 2. Secondly, to afford convincing evidence to future ages, of the truth of that ultimate religion; which evidence, a circumstantial prediction of its appearance and nature so long beforehand effectually does afford. The ultimate religion then must have been noticed in the preparatory.

Our next inquiry will be, in what manner this notice must needs be given. Now the nature of the thing informs us it could not be directly and openly; so as to be understood by the people at the time of giving. Because this would have defeated God's intermediate purpose, which was to train them, by a long discipline, under his preparatory dispensation. But that being a religion founded only on temporal sanctions, and burdened with a minute and tiresome ritual, had the people known it to be only preparatory to another, founded on better promises and easier observances, they would never have borne the yoke of the law, but have shaken off their subjection to Moses before the fulness of time had brought their spiritual deliverer among them, as, without this knowledge, they were but too apt to do, on every imaginary prospect of advantage. This information, therefore, was to be delivered with caution, and conveyed under the cover of their present economy.

Hence arose the fit and necessary use of types and secondary senses. For the only two safe and lasting means of conveyance were, their public Ritual, and the Writings of the Prophets. And a speaking action, and an allegory, when thus stationed, had all the secrecy that the occasion required. We have observed, that in the simpler use of speaking by action, the action itself hath no moral import, and so, having but one meaning, the information it conveys is clear and intelligible. But where a rite of Religion is used for this speaking action, there the action hath a moral import, and so, having two meanings, its information is more obscure and mysterious. Hence it appears, that this mode of speaking action, called a type, is exactly fitted for the information in question. Just so it is again with the secondary sense. In the mere allegory, the representing image has no moral import: in the secondary sense (for a contrary reason, which the very term imports) it has. And so hath the same fitting obscurity with information by types. For the typical ritual, and the double prophecy, had each its obvious sense in the present nature and future fortune of the Jewish Religion and republic.

Such, we shall prove, was the wonderful economy of Divine Wisdom, in connecting together two dependent religions, the parts of one grand dispensation; by this means making one preparatory to the other, and each mutually to reflect light upon the other. Hence we see the desperate humour of that learned man, but very sincere Christian,\* who, because most of the prophecies relating to Jesus, in the Old Testament, are of the nature described above, took it into his head that the Bible was corrupted by the enemies of Jesus. Whereas, on the very supposition of a mediate and ultimate religion, which this good man holds, the main body of prophecies in the Old Testa-

\* Mr. Whiston.



ment relating to the New, must, according to all our ideas of fitness and expediency, needs be prophecies of a secondary sense. But it is the usual refuge of folly to throw its distresses upon knavery. And thus, as we observed, the Mahometans, likewise, who pretend to claim under the Jewish law, not finding there the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, are positive that the Jews have corrupted their own Scriptures in pure spite to their great Prophet.

III. Having thus shown the reasonable use and great expediency of these modes of Sacred information, under the Jewish economy; the next question is, whether they be indeed there. This we shall endeavour to show. And that none of the common prejudices may lie against our reasoning, the example we give, shall be of types and double prophecies, employed even in subjects relating to the Jewish dispensation only.

1. The whole ordinance of the passover was a type of the redemption from Egypt. The striking the blood on the side-posts, the eating flesh with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and in a posture of departure and expedition, were all significative of their bondage and deliverance. This will admit of no doubt, because the institutor himself has thus explained the type.—And thou shalt show thy son, (says he) in that day, saying, this is done because of that which the Lord did unto me, when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes; that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth. For with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year.\* As therefore it was of the genius of these holy rites to be typical or significative of God's past, present, and future dispensations to his people, we cannot in the

\* Exod. xiii. 8. and seq.



least doubt, but that Moses, had he not been restrained by those important considerations explained above, would have told them that the sacrifice of the lamb without blemish was a type, a sign or memorial of the death of Christ.

2. With regard to double senses, take this instance from Joel : who, in his prediction of an approaching ravage by Locusts, foretells likewise, in the same words, a succeeding desolation by the Assyrian army. For we are to observe that this was God's method both in warning and in punishing a sinful people. Thus, when the seven nations for their exceeding wickedness were to be exterminated, God promises his chosen people to send hornets before them, which should drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before them. Now Joel, under one and the same prophecy, contained in the first and second Chapters of his book, foretells, as we say, both these plagues ; the locusts in the primary sense, and the Assyrian army in the secondary—"Awake, ye drunkards, and weep and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine, for it is cut off from your mouth. For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number ; whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine

\* Exod. xviii. 23. This, the author of the book called the "Wisdom of Solomon" admirably paraphrases:—"For it was thy will to destroy by the hands of our fathers both those old inhabitants of thy holy land; whom thou hatedst for doing most odious works of witchcrafts, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood, with their priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed, with their own hands, souls destitute of help: That the land which thou esteemedst above all other might receive a worthy colony of God's children. Nevertheless even those thou sparedst as men, and didst send wasps, forerunners of thine host, to destroy them by little and little. Not that thou wast unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the righteous in battle, or to destroy them at once with cruel beasts, or with one rough word; but executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, thou gavest them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed." Chap. xii. ver. 3. and seq.

waste, and barked in y fig-tree; he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away, the branches thereof are made white—The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted: The new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth. Be ye ashamed, O ye husband-men: Howl, O ye vine-dressers, for the wheat and for the barley; because the harvest of the field is perished.\* Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain. Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble; for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand. A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like—A fire devour-eth before them, and behind them a flame burneth: The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness, yea, and nothing shall escape them. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and as horse-men so shall they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array. Before their face the people shall be much pained; all faces shall gather blackness. They shall run like mighty men, they shall climb the wall like men of war, and they shall march every one on his ways, and they shall not break their ranks; neither shall one thrust another, they shall walk every one in his path: and when they fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded. They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter in at the windows like a thief. The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble, the sun and moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.”\*

\* Chap. ii. v. 1—11.

The fine conversion of the subjects is remarkable. The prophecy is delivered in the first chapter—awake, ye drunkards, &c., and repeated in the second—Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, &c. In the first chapter, the locusts are described as a people; for a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number. But, that we may not be mistaken in the primary sense, namely the plague of locusts, the ravages described are the ravages of insects: They lay waste the vine, they bark the fig-tree, make the branches clean bare, and wither the fruit-trees. In the second chapter, the hostile people are described as locusts: As the morning spread upon the mountains. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and as horsemen so shall they run, as a strong people set in battle array. They shall run like mighty men, they shall climb the wall like men of war. But that we may not mistake the secondary sense, namely the invasion of a foreign enemy, they are compared, we see, to a mighty army. This art, in the contexture of the prophecy, is truly divine; and renders all chicane to evade a double sense ineffectual. For in some places of this prophecy, dearth by insects must needs be understood; in others, desolation by war. So that both senses are of necessity to be admitted. And here let me observe, that had the commentators on this prophecy but attended to the nature of the double sense, they would not have suffered themselves to be so embarrassed; nor have spent so much time in freeing the prophet from an imaginary embarrassment (though at the expense of the context) on account of the same prophecy having in one part that signification primary, which, in another, is secondary. A circumstance so far from making an inaccuracy, that it gives the highest elegance to the discourse, and joins the two senses so closely as to obviate all pretence for a division, to the injury of the Holy Spirit. Here then we have a double sense, not aris-

ing from the interpretation of a single verse, and so obnoxious to mistake, but of a whole and very large descriptive prophecy.

But by strange ill fortune even some believers, as we have observed, are come at length to deny the very existence of double senses and secondary prophecies. A late\* writer hath employed some pages to proclaim his utter disbelief of all such fancies. I shall take the liberty to examine this bold rectifier of prejudices, not for any thing he hath opposed to the principles here laid down ; for I dare say these were no more in his thoughts when he wrote, than what he has wrote were in mine when I laid them down ; but only to show that all he has written is far wide of the purpose, though, to confess the truth, no wider than the notions of those he argues against ; men, who contend for types and secondary senses in as extravagant a way as he opposes them ; that is, such as take a handle from the doctrine of double senses to give a loose to the extravagances of a fanatical imagination. Consequently his arguments which are aimed against their very use and being, hold only against their abuse. And that abuse, which others indeed have urged as an argument against the use, he sets himself to confute (a mighty undertaking !) and then mistakes his reasoning for a confutation of the use. His materials and his project being thus ill sorted, it is no wonder his argument should look asquint. One can hardly indeed tell what they look at ; so that if we should chance to attack them on their blind side, it is not with design to take them at advantage, but merely from being deceived by their odd looks.

His reasoning against double senses of prophecies, as far as I understand it, may be divided into two parts ;  
1. Replies to the arguments of others for double senses.

\* The principles and connection of Natural and Revealed Religion, distinctly considered, p. 221, by Dr. Sykes.

2. His own arguments against them. With his replies I have nothing to do, (except where something of argument against the reality of double senses is contained) because they are replies to no arguments of mine, nor to any I make use of. I have only therefore to consider what he has to say against the thing itself.

1. His first argument against more senses than one, is as follows—“Supposing that the opinion or judgement of the Prophet or Apostle is not to be considered in matters of prophecy, more than the judgement of a mere Amanuensis is ; and that the point is not what the opinion of the Amanuensis was, but what the Inditer intended to express ; yet it must be granted, that if God had any views to some remoter events, at the same time that the words which were used, were equally applicable to, and designed to express nearer events ; those remoter events as well as the nearer, were in the intention of God, and if both the nearer and remoter events were equally intended by God in any proposition, then the literal sense of them, is not the one nor the other singly and apart, but both together must be the full meaning of such passages.”

—Then the literal sense of them is not the one nor the other singly and apart, but both of them together, &c. ; i. e. if both together make up but one literal sense, then there is neither a secondary nor a double sense : And so there is an end of the controversy. A formidable adversary truly ! He threatens to overthrow the thing, and gives us an argument against the propriety of the term. Let him but allow his adversaries that a nearer and a remoter event are both the subjects of one and the same prediction, and, I suppose, it will be indifferent to them whether he calls it, with them, a prophecy of a double and secondary sense, or they call it, with him, a prophecy of a single literal sense ; and he ought to be thankful for so much complaisance, for it is plain, they have the better of him even in the propriety of the term. It is allowed that God in these



predictions, might have views to nearer and remoter events; now these nearer and remoter events were events under two different dispensations, the Jewish and the Christian. The prediction is addressed to the Jews, who had not only a more immediate concern with the first, but, at the time of giving the prophecy, were not to be let into the secrets of the other. Hence the prediction of the nearer event was properly the literal or primary sense, as given for the present information of God's servants; and the more remote event for their future information, and so was as properly the secondary sense, called with great propriety figurative, because conveyed under the terms which predicted the nearer event. But I hope a first and a second, a literal and a figurative, may make up a double sense.

2. His second argument runs thus: "Words are the signs of our thoughts, and therefore stand for the ideas in the mind of him that uses them. If then words are made use of to signify two or more things at the same time, their significancy is really lost, and it is impossible to understand the real certain intention of him that uses them. Were God to discover any thing to mankind by a written Revelation, and were he to make use of such terms as stand for ideas in men's minds, he must speak to them so as to be understood by them. They must have in their minds the ideas which God intended to excite in them, or else it would be in vain to attempt to make discoveries of his will; and the terms made use of must be such as were wont to raise such certain ideas, or else there could be no written Revelation. The true sense, therefore, of any passage of Scripture can be but one; or if it be said to contain more senses than one, if such multiplicity be not revealed, the revelation becomes useless, because unintelligible."

Men may talk what they please of unintelligibleness in writers who have two senses, but it has been my fortune to meet with it much oftener in those who have none.



Our reasoner has here mistaken the very question, which is, whether a Scripture *proposition* (for all the prophecies are reducible to propositions) be capable of two senses; and, to support the negative, he labours to prove that *words* or terms can have but one. If then words are made use of, to signify two or more things at the same time, their significancy is really lost—such terms as stand for ideas in men's minds—Terms made use of must be such as are wont to raise such certain ideas. Now all this is readily allowed, but how utterly wide of the purpose, may be seen by this instance: Jacob says, I will go down into Sheol unto my son mourning. Now if Sheol signify in the ancient Hebrew only the grave, it would be an abusive interpretation to make it signify likewise, with the vulgar Latin, in infernum, because there the interpreters were giving not the sense of a proposition, but the sense of a word: and if words (as he says) be made to signify two or more things at the same time, their significancy is lost. But where the Psalmist says, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (Sheol) neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption; it is very different as well as reasonable, to interpret this, where the sense of the whole proposition, not of a single word, is the subject of enquiry, in a spiritual sense of the resurrection of the body of Christ from the grave, and the reduction of his soul from the region or receptacle of departed spirits; though at the same time there be a literal sense allowed, in which the words translated soul and hell, are left in the meaning they bear, in the Hebrew tongue, of body and grave.

But let us suppose our reasoner to mean that a PROPOSITION is not capable of two senses, as perhaps he did; for notwithstanding his express words to the contrary, yet, before he comes to the end of his argument, he talks of the true sense of any *passage* being but one; and then his assertion must be, that if one *proposition* have two senses, its significancy is really lost; and that it is impossible to

understand the real, certain intention of him that uses them; consequently Revelation will become useless, because unintelligible.

Now this I will take the liberty to deny. In the following instances a single proposition was intended by the writers and speakers to have a double sense, as he himself shall own. The Poet Virgil says,

—“*Talia, per clypeum Volcani, dona parentis  
Miratur: rerumque ignarus, imagine gaudet,  
ATTOLENS HUMERO FAMAMQUE ET FATA NEPOTUM.*”\*

The last line has these two senses: First, that Æneas bore upon his shoulders a shield, on which was engraved an historical picture of the Fame and Fortunes of his posterity; Secondly, that under the protection of that piece of armour he established their Fame and Fortunes, and was enabled to make a settlement in Latium, which proved the foundation of the Roman Empire.

Here then is a double sense, which, I believe, none who have any taste of Virgil will deny. The preceding verse introduces it with great art,

“*Miratur, rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet:*”

as preparing us for something a little mysterious, and hid behind the Letter.

The Holy Spirit, in Sacred Scripture, says to Peter, on his refusing to eat promiscuously, in the famous vision, of clean and unclean meats, What God hath cleansed that call not thou common.† The proposition is, that which God hath cleansed is not common; but no one that reads this story can doubt of its having this double sense; 1. That the distinction between clean and unclean meats was to be abolished. 2. And That the Gentiles were to be called into the Church of Christ. Here then the true sense of these passages is not one, but two; and yet the inten-

\* Æneid, lib. viii. in fin.

† Acts x. 15.

tion or meaning is not on this account the least obscured or lost, or rendered doubtful and unintelligible.

He will say, perhaps, that the very nature of the subject, in both cases, determines the two senses here explained.—And does he think we will not say the same of double senses in the prophecies? It is true he seems to take it for granted that Judaism and Christianity have no manner of relation to one another: why else would he bring in discredit of a double sense, these two verses of Virgil,

“Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta  
Pulveris exigui jactu composita quiescunt.”

On which he thus descants;—The words are determinate and clear.—Suppose now a man having occasion to speak of intermitting fevers, and the ruffle of a man’s spirits, and the easy cure of the disorder by pulverized bark, &c. To make this pertinent, we must suppose no more relation between the fortunes of the Jewish Church and the Christian, than between a battle of bees, and the tumult of the animal spirits: if this were not his meaning it will be hard to know what was, unless to show his happy talent at a Parody.

3. His next argument runs thus—“If God is disposed to reveal to mankind any truths, he must convey them in such a manner that they may be understood. If he speaks to men, he must condescend to their infirmities and capacities. Now if he were to contrive a proposition in such a manner, that the same proposition should relate to several events; the consequence would be, that as often as events happened which agreed to any proposition, so often would the revelation be accomplished. But this would only serve to increase the confusion of men’s minds, and never to clear up any prophecy: no man could say what was intended by the Spirit of God. And if many events were intended, it would be the same thing as if no event was intended at all.”

I all along suspected he was talking against what he did not understand. He proposed to prove the absurdity of a double or secondary sense of prophecies ; and now he tells us of many senses ; and endeavours to show how this would make prophecy useless. But sure he should have known, what the very phrase itself intimates, that no prophetic proposition is pretended to have more than two senses : and further, that the subject of each is supposed to relate to two connected and successive dispensations, which is so far from creating any confusion in men's minds, or making a prophecy useless that it cannot but strengthen and confirm our belief of, and give double evidence to, the divinity of the prediction. On the contrary, he appears to think that what Orthodox Divines mean by a second sense, is the same with what the Scotch Prophets mean by a second sight ; the seeing one thing after another as long as the imagination will hold out.

4. His last argument is : “ Nor is it any ground for such a supposition, that the prophets being full of the ideas of the Messiah, and his glorious kingdom, made use of images taken from thence, to express the points upon which they had occasion to speak. From whencesoever they took their ideas, yet when they spoke of present facts, it was present facts only, that were to be understood. Common language, and the figures of it, and the manner of expression ; the metaphors, the hyperboles, and all the usual forms of speech, are to be considered : and if the occasions of the expression are taken from a future state, yet still the proposition is to be interpreted of that one thing to which it is particularly applied.”

Orthodox Divines have supported the reasonableness and probability of double senses by this material observation, that the inspired Writers were full of the ideas of the Christian dispensation. That is, there being a close relation between the Christian and the Jewish, of which the Christian was the completion, whenever the Prophets

spoke of any of the remarkable fortunes of the one, they interwove with it those of the other. A truth which no man could be so hardy to deny, who believes, 1. That there is that relation between the two religions : and 2. That these inspired men were let into the nature and future fortunes of both. See now in what manner our author represents this observation. It is no ground, says he, for a double sense, that the Prophets were full of the ideas of a Messiah and his glorious kingdom, and made use of images taken from thence ; (that is, that they ennobled their style by their habitual contemplation of magnificent ideas.) For, (continues he) whencesoever they took their ideas, when they spoke of present facts, present facts alone were to be understood. Common language and the figures of it, &c. Without doubt, from such a fulness of ideas, as only raised and ennobled their style, it could be no more concluded that they meant future facts when they speak of present, than that Virgil, because he was full of the magnificent ideas of the Roman grandeur, where he says, *Priami Imperium—Divum Domus, Ilium, and Ingens gloria Teucrorum*, meant Rome as well as Troy. But what is all this to the purpose ? Orthodox Divines talk of a fulness of ideas arising from the Holy Spirit's revealing the mutual dependency and future fortunes of the two dispensations ; and revealing them for the information, solace, and support of the Christian Church : and Dr. Sykes talks of a fulness of ideas, got, nobody knows how, and used, nobody knows why, to raise (I think he says) their style and ennoble their images. Let him give some good account of this representation, and then we may be able to determine, if it be worth the trouble, whether he here put the change upon himself or his reader.

From hence, to the end of the chapter, he goes on to examine particular texts urged against his opinion ; with which I have at present nothing to do ; first, because the proper subject of this section is the general nature only



of types and double senses : and secondly, because what room I have to spare, on this head, is for a much welcomer guest, whom I am now returning to, the original author of these profound reasonings, Mr. COLLINS himself.

To proceed. We have shown that types and secondary senses are rational, logical, and scholastic modes of information ; that they were expedient and highly useful under the Jewish economy ; and that they were indeed there.

But now it will be objected, that, as far as relates to the Jewish economy, a double sense may be allowed ; because the affairs of that dispensation may be well supposed to be in the thoughts of the Prophet ; but it is unreasonable to make one of the senses relate to a different and remote dispensation never in his thoughts. For the books of the Old Testament (Mr. Collins assures us) seem the most plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the authors or in any other Jews of their time.

I reply, that was it even as our adversaries suggest, that all the prophecies, which, we say, relate to Jesus, relate to him only in a secondary sense ; and that there were no other intimations of the new dispensation but what such prophecies convey ; it would not follow that such sense was false or groundless. And this I have clearly shown in the account of their nature, origin, and use. Thus much I confess, that without miracles, in confirmation of such sense, some of them would with difficulty be proved to have it ; because, as we have shown, a commodious and designed obscurity attends both their nature and their use.

But then this let me add, and these pretenders to reason would do well to consider it, that the authority of superior wisdom as rationally determines the assent to the meaning of a doubtful proposition, as any other kind of logical evidence whatsoever.

But this is by no means the case. We say further, 1. That some of the prophecies relate to Jesus in a prima-



ry sense. 2. That besides these, there are in the Prophetic Writings, the most clear and certain intimations of the Gospel economy.

I. That some prophecies relate to the Messiah in a primary sense, has been invincibly proved by a very learned prelate.\* I shall mention therefore but one, and that only because our adversary has made some remarks upon it, which will afford an occasion for further illustration of the subject. Jesus says of John the Baptist—*This is the Elias that was to come.* “Wherein (says the author of the Grounds, &c.) he is supposed to refer to these words of Malachi, behold, I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord; which, according to their literal sense, are a prophecy, that Elijah or Elias was to come in person, and therefore not literally but mystically fulfilled in John the Baptist.” And again, in his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, speaking of this passage of Malachi, he says, “But to cut off all pretence for a literal prophecy, I observe, first, that the literal interpretation of this place is, that Elias, the real Elias was to come. And is it not a most pleasant literal interpretation to make Elias, not signify Elias, but somebody who resembled him in qualities?—Secondly, I observe, that the Septuagint Translators render it, Elias the Tishbite—and that the Jews, since Christ’s time, have generally understood, from the passage before us, that Elias is to come in person. But John the Baptist himself, who must be supposed to know who he was himself, when the question was asked him, whether he was Elias, denied himself to be Elias; and when asked who he was, said, he was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, &c.; which is a passage taken from Isaiah.”

1. The first thing observable in these curious remarks is, that this great Philosopher and Divine did not so much

\* The present Bishop of Durham:

as understand the terms of the question. The words, says he, according to their literal sense, are a prophecy, that Elijah was to come in person, and therefore not literally but mystically fulfilled in John the Baptist. He did not so much as know the meaning of a primary and secondary sense, about which he makes all this bustle. A secondary sense indeed implies a figurative interpretation; a primary implies a literal: but yet this primary sense does not exclude figurative terms. The primary or literal sense of the prophecy in question is, that before the great and terrible day of the Lord, a messenger should be sent, resembling in character the Prophet Elijah; this messenger by a figure, is called the prophet Elijah. A figure of the most easy and natural import; and of especial use amongst the Hebrews, who were accustomed to denote any character or action by that of the kind which was become most known or celebrated. Thus the Prophet Isaiah: "And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams."\*—Here a second passage through the Red sea is promised in literal terms; but who therefore will say that this is the literal meaning? The literal meaning, though the prophecy be in figurative terms, is simply redemption from bondage. For Egypt, in the Hebrew phrase, signified a place of bondage. Would not he be thought an admirable interpreter of Virgil who should criticise the Roman Poet in the same manner?—Virgil seems the most plain of all ancient writings: and he says,

"Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna."

which, according to its literal meaning, is, that the Virgin returns, and old Saturn reigns again, in person: and therefore not literally but mystically fulfilled in the justice and

\* Chap. xi. 15.

felicity of Augustus' reign. And it is a most pleasant literal interpretation, to make the Virgin and Saturn not signify the Virgin and Saturn, but somebody who resembled them in qualities. Such prate, in a classical critic, would be called nonsense in every language. But freethinking sanctifies all sorts of impertinence.—This was a kind of compound blunder; literal, in common speech, being opposed both to figurative and to spiritual; and mystical signifying both figurative and spiritual; he confounded the distinct and different meanings both of literal and mystical.

He goes on—"I observe, that the Septuagint translators render it Elias the Tishbite—and that the Jews, since Christ's time, have generally understood from this passage, that Elias is to come in person. And John the Baptist himself, who must be supposed to know who he was himself, when the question was asked him, denied himself to be Elias." Why does he say, since Christ's time, and not before, when it appears to be before as well as since, from his own account of the translation of the Septuagint? for a good reason. We should then have seen why John the Baptist, when asked, denied himself to be Elias; which it was not Mr. Collins's design we should see; if indeed we do not ascribe too much to his knowledge in this matter. The case stood thus: at the time of the Septuagint translation, and from thence to the time of Christ, the doctrine of a transmigration, and of a resurrection of the body, to repossess the land of Judea, were national opinions; which occasioned the Jews by degrees to understand all these sorts of figurative expressions literally. Hence, amongst their many visions, this was one, that Elias should come again in person. Which shows what it was the Jews asked John the Baptist; and what it was he answered, when he denied himself to be Elias: Not that he was not the messenger prophesied of by Malachi (for his pretending to be

that messenger evidently occasioned the question) but that he was not, nor did the prophecy imply that the messenger should be, Elias in person.

2. But we will suppose all that an ingenuous adversary can ask—“That most of the prophecies in question relate to Jesus in a secondary sense only; the rest in a primary, but expressed in figurative terms; which, till their completion, threw a shade over their meaning, and kept them in a certain degree of obscurity.” Now, to show how all this came about, will add still further light to this very perplexed question.

We have seen, from the nature and long duration of the Jewish economy, that the prophecies which relate to Jesus, must needs be darkly and enigmatically delivered. We have seen how the allegoric mode of speech, then much in use, furnished the means, by what we call a double sense in prophecies, of doing this with all the requisite obscurity. But as some of these prophecies by their proper light alone, without the confirmation of miracles, could hardly have their sublimer sense so well ascertained; to render all opposers of the Gospel without excuse, it pleased the Holy Spirit, under the last race of the prophets, to give credentials to the mission of Jesus by predictions of him in a primary and literal sense. Yet the Jewish economy being to continue long, there still remained the same necessity of a covert and mysterious conveyance. That figurative expression therefore, which was before employed in the proposition, was now used in the terms. Hence, the prophecies of a single sense come to be in highly figurative words: as before, the earlier prophecies of a double sense (which had a primary meaning in the affairs of the Jewish state, and, for the present information of that people) were delivered in a much more simple phrase.

The Jewish doctors, whose obstinate adherence, not to the letter of the law, as this writer ignorantly or frau-

duently suggests, but to the mystical interpretations of the Cabala, prevents their seeing the true cause of this difference in the language, between the earlier and latter prophets ; the Jewish doctors, I say, are extremely perplexed to give a tolerable account of this matter. What they best agree in is, that the figurative enigmatic style of the later prophets (which however they make infinitely more obscure by cabalistic meanings, than it really is, in order to evade the relation which the predictions have to Jesus) is owing to the declining state of prophecy. Every prophet, says the famous Rabbi, Joseph Albo, that is of a strong, sagacious, and piercing understanding, will apprehend the thing nakedly without any similitude ; whence it comes to pass that all his sayings are distinct and clear, and free from all obscurity, having a literal truth in them: But a prophet of an inferior rank or degree, his words are obscure, enwrapped in riddles and parables ; and therefore have not a literal but allegorical truth contained in them.\* And indeed our fictitious Rabbi seems to have had as little knowledge of this matter as the other ; for in answer to what Mr. Whiston, who, extravagant as he was in rejecting all double senses, yet knew the difference between a secondary and enigmatic prophecy, which, we shall see, Mr. Collins did not, in answer, I say, to Mr. Whiston, who observed “that the prophecies (meaning the primary) which relate to Christianity are covered, mystical and enigmatical,” replies, “this is exactly equal mysticism with, and just as remote from the real literal sense as the mysticism of the allegorists (i. e. the contenders for a double sense) and is altogether as obscure to the understanding.†” His argument against secondary senses is, that they are unscholastic and enthusiastical. Mr. Whiston, to humour him, presents him with direct and primary

\* *Smith's Select Discourses*, p. 180.

† *Grounds and Reasons*, &c., p. 242.



prophecies, but tells him, at the same time, they are expressed in covered, mystical, and enigmatic terms. This will not satisfy him; it is no better than the mysticism of the allegorists. How so? We may think perhaps, that he would pretend to prove, because his argument requires he should prove, that enigmatical expressions are as un-scholastic and enthusiastical as secondary senses. No such matter. All he says is, that they are as obscure to the understanding. But obscurity is not his quarrel with secondary senses. He objects to them as un-scholastic and enthusiastical. But here lay the difficulty; no man, who pretended to any language, could affirm this, of figurative, enigmatical expressions; he was forced therefore to have recourse to his usual refuge, obscurity.

It is true, he says, these mystical enigmatic prophecies (as Mr. Whiston calls them) are equally remote from the real literal sense, as the mysticism of the Allegorists. But this is only a repetition of the blunder exposed above, where he could not distinguish between the literal sense of a term, and the literal sense of a proposition. And how gross that ignorance is we may see by the following instance. Isaiah says, "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them."\* Now I will take it for granted that his followers understand this, as Grotius does, of the profound peace which was to follow after the times of Senacherib, under Hezekiah: but though the terms be mystical, yet sure they call this the literal sense of the prophecy: for Grotius makes the mystical sense to refer to the Gospel. Mr. Whiston, I suppose, denies that this has any thing to do with the times of Hezekiah, but that it refers to those of Christ only. Is not his interpretation therefore literal as well as that of Grotius? unless it immediately

\* Chap. xi. ver. 6.



becomes oddly typical, unscholastic, and enthusiastical, as soon as ever Jesus comes into the question.

II. But now, besides the literal primary prophecies concerning the person of Jesus, we say, in the second place, that there are others, which give a primary and direct intimation of the CHANGE OF THE DISPENSATION. Isaiah foretels great mercies to the Jewish people, in a future age; which, though represented by such metaphors as bore analogy to the blessings peculiar to the Jewish economy, yet, to show that they were indeed different from what the figurative terms alludes to, the prophet at the same time adds, "my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." This surely implies a different DISPENSATION. That the change was from carnal to spiritual, is elegantly intimated in the subjoining words,—“for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than thy ways, and my thoughts than thy thoughts.” But this higher and more excellent dispensation is more plainly revealed in the following figure; instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come the myrtle-tree; i. e. the new religion shall as far excel the old, as the fir-tree does the thorn, or the myrtle tree the brier. In a following prophecy he shows the extent of this new religion as here he had shewn its nature; that it was to spread beyond Judea, and to take in the whole race of mankind,—the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising, &c. Which idea the prophet Zephaniah expresses in so strong a manner, as to leave no room for evasion: “The Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famish all the gods of the earth; and men shall worship him every one from his place, even all the isles of the Gentiles.” The expression is noble, and alludes to the popular superstitions of Paganism, which conceived that their gods were nourished by the steam of sacrifices. But when were the Pagan gods thus famished, but in the first

ages of Christianity?—Every one from his place ; that is, they were not to go up to Jerusalem to worship—Even all the isles of the Gentiles : but when did these worship the God of Israel, every one from his place, before the preaching of the apostles ? Then indeed their speedy and general conversion distinguished them from the rest of the nations.

But Isaiah, as he goes on, is still more explicit, and declares, in direct terms, that the dispensation should be changed: “Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.” This in the prophetic style, means a new religion and a new law ; the Metaphors, as we have shown elsewhere, being taken from hieroglyphical expression. To make it still more clear, I observe further, the prophet goes on in declaring the change of the sanction ; a necessary consequence of the change of the dispensation—“there shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days : For the child shall die an hundred years old, but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed ;” i. e. the Jewish sanction of temporal rewards and punishments shall be no longer administered in an extraordinary manner : For we must remember, that long life for obedience, and sudden and immature death for transgressions, bore an eminent part in their rewards and punishments : now these are expressly said to be abrogated in the dispensation promised, it being declared that the virtuous, though dying untimely, should be as if they had lived an hundred years ; and sinners, though living to an hundred years, as if they had died untimely.

The very same prophecy in Jeremiah, delivered in less figurative terms, ascertains this interpretation beyond all possible cavil : “Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the coven-

ant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts."

What Isaiah figuratively calls a new heaven and a new earth, Jeremiah simply and literally names a new covenant. And what kind of covenant? not such an one as was made with their fathers. This was declarative enough of its nature; yet to prevent mistakes, he gives as well a positive as negative description of it: this shall be the covenant, I will put my law in their inward parts, &c.; i. e. this law shall be spiritual, as the other, given to their fathers, was carnal: for the Jewish law did not scrutinize the heart, but rested in external obedience and observances.

Lastly, to crown the whole, I observe that Jeremiah too, like Isaiah, ascertains the argument by declaring, at the same time, the change of the sanction: "In those days they shall say no more, the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity, every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge." For we know it to have been part of the sanction of the Jewish law, that children should bear the iniquity of their fathers, &c.; a mode of punishing, which has been already explained and justified.

Notwithstanding all this, if you will believe our adversary, the books of the Old Testament seem the most plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the authors, or in any other Jews of their times. He that answers a free-thinker has a fine time of it. Not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention! he might as well have said, there is no trace of poetry in Virgil, or

of eloquence in Cicero. But there is none, he says, either in the authors, or in any other Jews of their times. To both which assertions this single text of Ezekiel will serve for a confutation—"Ah Lord! they say of me, doth he not speak parables?" The prophet complains that the fruitlessness of his mission proceeded from the people's regarding him as speaking of mysterious things, not understood by them. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who is reasonably supposed to have been contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, speaks of the Holy Scriptures as fully fraught with typical and allegoric wisdom: "He that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of the ancients, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men, and where subtile parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables." Hence it appears, that prophecies were not so plain as our author represents them, and that their obscurity arose from their having typical or allegorical intentions; which figures too related not to the present, but to a future dispensation, as is further seen from what Ezekiel says in another Place:—"Son of Man, behold! they of the house of Israel say, the vision that he seeth is for many days to come, and he prophesieth of the times that are far off." So that those people to whom the prophecies were so plain, and who understood them to respect their own times only, without any typical or allegorical meaning, complain of obscurities, and consider them as referring to very remote times. But I am ashamed to dwell so long on so evident a truth. The English Bible lies open to every free-thinker of Great Britain, where they may read it that will, and understand it that can.

As for such writers, as the author of the *Grounds and Reasons*, to say the truth, one would never wish to see them otherwise employed; but when so great and good a

man as Grotius has unwarily contributed to the dotages of infidelity, this is such a misadventure as one cannot regard but with the utmost pity and concern.

This excellent person, for it is not to be disguised, has made it his constant endeavour, throughout his whole comment on the Prophets, to find a double sense even in those direct prophecies which relate to Jesus; and to turn the primary sense upon the affairs of the Jewish dispensation, allowing them to relate to Jesus only in a secondary; and by that affected strain of criticism, has done almost as much harm to Revelation as his other writings have done it service: not for any strength there is in his interpretations; for this and his Comment on the Apocalypse, are the opprobrium of his great learning, but only for the name they carry with them. I am the freer in my censure, because I can prove what I say.

The principle which Grotius went upon, in commenting on the Bible, was, that it should be interpreted on the same rules of criticism that men use in the study of all other ancient writings. Nothing could be more reasonable than his principle: but unluckily he deceived himself in the application of it. These rules teach us, the genius, purpose, and authority of the writer should be carefully studied. Under the head of his authority it is to be considered, whether he be a mere human or an inspired writer. Thus far Grotius went right: he examined that authority; and pronounced the writers to be inspired, and the prophecies divine: But when he came to apply these premises, he utterly forgot his conclusion; and interpreted the prophecies by rules very different from what the confession of their divine original required: for seeing them pronounced by Jewish prophets, occupied in Jewish affairs, he concluded their sole object was Jewish; and consequently that the proper sense of the prophecies referred to these only. But this was falling back from one of the grounds he went upon, that the writers were inspired: for



his interpretation was only reasonable on the supposition that these writers prophesied in the very manner which the Pagans understood their prophets sometimes to have done, by a natural sagacity: for, on the allowance of a real inspiration, it was God, and not the writer, who was the proper author of the prophecy; and to understand his purpose, which the rules of interpretation requires us to seek, we must examine the nature, reason, and end of that religion which he gave to the Jews: for on these, common sense assures us, the meaning of the prophecies must be entirely regulated. Now if, on enquiry, it should be found, that this, which Grotius admitted for a divine dispensation, was only preparatory of another more perfect, it would then appear not to be improbable that some of these prophecies might relate, in their literal, primary, and immediate sense, to that more perfect dispensation. And whether they did so or not was to be determined by the joint evidence of the context, and of the nature of God's whole dispensation to mankind, so far forth as it is discoverable to us. But Grotius, instead of making the matter thus reasonably problematical, and to be determined by evidence, determined first, and laid it down as a kind of principle, that the prophecies related directly and properly to Jewish affairs: and into this system he withdrew all his explanations. This, as we say, was falsely applying a true rule of interpretation. He went on this reasonable ground, that the prophecies should be interpreted like all other ancient writings: and on examining their authority, he found them to be truly divine. When he had gone thus far, he then preposterously went back again, and commented as if they were confessed to be merely human: the consequence was, that several of his criticisms, to speak of them only as the performance of a man of learning, are so forced, unnatural, and absurd, so opposed to the rational canons of interpretation, that



I will venture to affirm they are, in all respects, the worst that ever came from the hand of an acute and able critic.

Having now proved that the principles Mr. Collins went upon, were in themselves false and extravagant, we have little reason to regard how he used them. But as this extraordinary writer was as great a free-thinker in logic as in divinity, it may not be improper to show the fashionable world what sort of men they have chosen for their guides, to lead them from their religion, when they would no longer have any to direct them to it.

His argument against what he calls typical, allegorical, but properly secondary senses, stands thus:—Christianity pretends to derive itself from Judaism. Jesus appeals to the religious books of the Jews as prophesying of his mission. None of these prophecies can be understood of him but in a typical, allegoric sense. Now that sense is absurd, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation. Christianity, therefore, not being really predicted of in the Jewish writings, is consequently false. The contestible proposition, on which the whole argument rests, is, that a typical or allegoric sense is absurd, and contrary to all scholastic rules of interpretation.

Would the reader now believe that Mr. Collins himself has in this very book given a thorough confutation of his own proposition? Yet this he has done, and, contrary too, to his usual way of reasoning, in a very convincing manner; by showing, from the universal practice of antiquity, that a typical or allegorical sense is agreeable to the logical, scholastic rules of Interpretation. For he says,—“Allegory was much in use amongst the Pagans, being cultivated by many of the philosophers themselves, as well as theologians. By some as the method of delivering doctrines; but by most as the method of explaining away what, according to the letter, appeared absurd in the ancient fables or histories of their gods. Religion itself was

deemed a mysterious thing amongst the Pagans, and not to be publicly and plainly declared. Wherefore it was never simply represented to the people, but was most obscurely delivered, and veiled under allegories, or parables, or hieroglyphics; and especially among the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and the Oriental nations.—They allegorized many things of nature, and particularly the heavenly bodies.—They allegorized all their ancient fables and stories, and pretended to discover in them the secrets of natural philosophy, medicine, politics, and in a word all arts and sciences. The works of Homer in particular have furnished infinite materials for all sorts of allegorical commentators to work upon.—The ancient Greek poets were reputed to involve divine, and natural, and historical notions of their gods under mystical and parabolical expressions—The Pythagorean philosophy was wholly delivered in mystical language, the signification whereof was entirely unknown to the world abroad—The Stoic philosophers are particularly famous for allegorizing the whole heathen Theology—We have several treatises of heathen philosophers on the subject of allegorical interpretation.”

If now this kind of allegorizing, which involved the proposition in a double sense, was in use amongst the Pagan oracles, divines, philosophers and poets, is not the understanding ancient writings allegorically, or in a double sense, agreeable to all rational, scholastic rules of interpretation? Surely, as much so as the understanding mere metaphorical expressions in a tropical signification; whose propriety no one ever yet called in question. For the sense of propositions is imposed as arbitrarily as the sense of words. And if men, in the communication of their thoughts, agree to give, on some occasions, a double sense to propositions, as well as on others, a single, the interpreting the first in two meanings is as agreeable to all scholastic rules, as interpreting the other in one: and propositions, with a double and single sense, are as easily

distinguishable from each other, by the help of the context, as words with a literal and figurative meaning. But this great philosopher seems to have imagined, that the single sense of a proposition was imposed by nature; and that therefore, giving them a double meaning was the same offence against reason as the deviating from the unity of pure Theism into Polytheism: and, consequently, that the universal lapse into allegory and idolatry rendered neither the one nor the other of them the less absurd.

I say, he seems to think so. More one cannot say of such a writer. Besides, he seems to think otherwise, where, in another place, as if aware that use would rescue a double sense from his irrational and unscholastic censure, he endeavours to prove, that the Jews, during the prophetic period, did not use this allegoric way of expression. Now if we be right in this last conjecture about his meaning, he abuses the terms he employs, under a miserable quibble; and, by scholastic and unscholastic rules, only means interpreting in a single or a double sense.

The reader perhaps will be curious to know how it happened, that this great reasoner should, all at once, overthrow what he had been so long labouring to build. This fatal issue of his two books of the Grounds, &c. and Scheme, &c. had these causes:

1. He had a pressing and immediate objection to remove. And, as he had no great stock of argument, and but small forecast, any thing, at a plunge, would be received, which came to his relief.

The objection was this, "That the allegorical interpretations of the Apostles were not designed for absolute proofs of Christianity, but for arguments *ad homines* only to the Jews, who were accustomed to that way of reasoning." Thus, he himself tells us, some divines are accustomed to talk. He gives them indeed a solid answer; but he dreams not of the consequence. He says, this allegoric reasoning

was common to all mankind. Was it so? then the grand proposition on which his whole work supports itself is entirely overthrown. For if all mankind used it, the method must needs be rational and scholastic. But this he was not aware of. What kept him in the dark, was his never being able to distinguish between the *USE* and the *ABUSE* of this mode of information. These two things he perpetually confounds; the Pagan Oracles delivered themselves in allegories—this was the use: their later divines turned all their religion into allegory—this was the abuse. The elder Pythagoreans gave their precepts in allegory—this was the use: the later Stoics allegorized every thing—this was the abuse. Homer had some allegories—this was the use: his commentators turned all to allegory—and this again was the abuse. But though he has talked so much of these things, yet he knew no more of them than old John Bunyan; whose honester ignorance, joined to a good meaning, disposed him to admire that which the malignity of our author's folly inclined him to decry: and each in the like ridiculous extreme.

2. But the other cause of this subversion of his own system was the delight he took to blacken the splendour of religion. He supposed, we may be sure, it would prove an effectual discredit to Revelation, to have it seen, that there was this conformity between the Pagan and Jewish method of delivering religion and morality. His attempt hath been already exposed as it deserves. But in this instance it labours under much additional folly. For the different reasons which induced the propagators of Paganism, and the Author of Judaism, to employ the same method of information, are obvious to the meanest capacity, if advanced but so far in the knowledge of nature to know, that different ends are very commonly prosecuted by the same means. The Pagans allegorized in order to hide the weakness and absurdities of their national religions; the author of Judaism allegorized in order to pre-

pare his followers for the reception of a more perfect dispensation, founded on Judaism, which was preparatory of it; and at the same time, to prevent their premature rejection of Judaism, under which they were still to be long exercised.

Thus we see how this formidable enemy of our faith has himself overturned his whole argument by an unwary answer to an occasional objection. But this is but one, of a work full of contradictions. I have no occasion to be particular, after removing his main principles; yet, for the reader's diversion, I shall give him a taste of them. In his 81st. page, he says: "And there has been for a long time, and is at this time as little use of allegory in those respects amongst them (the Jews) as there seems to have been during the time the books of the Old Testament were written, which seem the most plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the authors, or in any other Jews of their times." Yet it is but at the 85th page that we find him saying; "And in this (viz. in delivering his philosophy in mystical language) Pythagoras came up to Solomon's character of wise men, who dealt in dark sayings, and acted not much unlike the most divine teacher that ever was. Our Saviour spake with many parables," &c. Now it seems, it was Solomon's character of wise men that they dealt in dark sayings. But these wise men were the authors of the Jewish Scriptures. And yet he had but just before assured us, that the books of the Old Testament seems the most plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the least trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the authors, or in any Jews of their times.

Again, in his pages 85, 86, he says, "the Pythagorean philosophy was wholly delivered in mystical language; the signification whereof was entirely unknown to the world abroad, and but gradually explained to those



of the sect, as they grew into years, or were proper to be informed—the Stoic philosophers were particularly famous for allegorizing—we have several treatises of heathen philosophers on the subject of allegorical interpretation—and from philosophers, Platonists and Stoics, the famous Origen is said to have derived a great deal of his skill in allegorizing the books of the Old Testament.” This he says, and yet at the 94th page he tells us, “That the Apostles, and particularly St. Paul, wholly discarded all other methods of reasoning used by philosophers, except the allegorical: and set that up as the true and only reasoning proper to bring all men to the faith of Christ: and the Gentiles were to be wholly beat out of the literal way of arguing, and to argue as became Jews. And the event of preaching the Gospel has been suited to matters considered in this view and light. For we know that the wise did not receive the Gospel at first, and that they were the latest converts: Which plainly arose from their using maxims of reasoning and disputing wholly opposite to those of Christians.” By these *wise*, can be meant none but the Pagan philosophers: and these, according to our author, were altogether given up to mystery and allegory. Yet St. Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, who, he says, were likewise given up to the same method, could make no converts amongst these wise men. Why? It would now methinks have suited his talents as well as temper, to have told us, it was because two of a trade could not agree: No, says this incomparable logician, it was because the philosophers used maxims of reasoning and disputing wholly opposite to the Christians.

What now but the name and authority of freethinking could hinder such a writer from becoming the contempt of all who know either how to make, or to understand an argument? These men profane the light they receive from Revelation in employing it to rob the treasures of the sanc-



tuary. But religion arrests them in the manner, and pronounces one common doom upon the whole race.

“—Ne IGNIS NOSTER facinori præluceat,  
Per quem colendos censuit Pietas Deos,  
VETO ESSE TALE LUMINIS COMMERCIIUM.”\*

Hence the fate that attends them all, in the inseparable connection between impiety and blundering; which always follow one another as the crime and the punishment.

If it be asked then, what it is that hath so strangely prejudiced our modern reasoners against this ancient mode of information by typical and secondary senses? I answer, the folly of fanatics, who have abused it in support of the most abominable nonsense. But how unreasonable is this prejudice! Was there ever any thing rational or excellent amongst men that hath not been thus abused? Is it any disparagement to the method of geometers, that some conceited writers on morality and religion have of late taken it up, to give an air of weight and demonstration to the whimsies of pedantic importance? Is there no truth of nature, or reasonableness of art, in grammatical construction, because eabalistic dunces have in every age abused it to pervert all human meaning? We might as well say that the ancient Egyptians did not write in hieroglyphics, because Kircher, who endeavoured to explain them, hath given us nothing but his own visions, as that the ancient Jews had not types and secondary senses, because modern enthusiasts have allegorized their whole story.

\* Phæd. l. iv. Fab. 10.

# Remarks

UPON A

## NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE,

&c. &c.

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### CHAP. I.

*Necessity of a new translation urged at various periods. First proposed under the usurpation of Cromwell. Dr. Gell. Anonymous "Essay for a new translation." Pilkington's Remarks. Bishop Lowth. Archbishop Secker. Dr. Durell. Lowth's Isaiah. Dr. White Dr. Blayney. Archbishop Newcome. Mr. Wintle. Dr. Kennicott Dr Geddes. Archbishop Newcome's "Historical view." Bishop Horsley. Mr. S. Greenaway.*

OUR authorized Translation of the Bible has been generally esteemed an able and accurate version, as well in other nations as in our own. Writers however of no mean rank in the literary world have represented it as replete with defects; a representation, of which ignorance and malevolence has not failed to take full advantage. But granting, what however I by no means admit, the validity of the objections brought against it; yet as the defects imputed to it consist of supposed inaccuracies, altogether unimportant in their tendency, affecting neither faith nor morals, and as the very writers, who have impeached it, at the same time have acknowledged its general excellencies, I must confess that I do not see the ex-

pediency, much less the necessity, of the measure proposed.

Splendid names and plausible authorities have, I am aware, considerable weight in every decision; too often indeed obtaining an undue preponderance. But in a cause of no little importance to the interests of true religion, and sober criticism, these surely can only weigh, as the dust upon the balance, when unsupported by solid argument and conclusive reasoning.

I proceed to take a brief view of what has been advanced in hostility to the old, and in recommendation of a new, version at various periods.

Half a century had not elapsed from the first appearance of our present translation, before something like public dissatisfaction with it began to be expressed. This happened during the usurpation of Cromwell. Johnson in his "Historical account of the English translations" gives the following detail of what passed on the occasion alluded to. "At a grand committee for religion in a pretended parliament, summoned by *Oliver Cromwell*, Anno 1656, it was ordered, that a sub-committee should advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they thought proper, to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinion therein to the committee; and that it should be more particularly recommended to Bulstrode Whitelock, one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, to take care of that affair. The committee met frequently at Whitelock's house, where the learned men in the oriental languages attended, made many observations upon this subject, and pretended to discover *some mistakes in the last English translation, which yet they allowed was the best extant*. They took a great deal of pains in this business, which yet came to nothing by the dissolution of the parliament."\*

\* Page 99.

About the same period, viz. in 1659, appeared a work under the following title ; “ An Essay toward the amendment of the last English translation of the Bible, or a proof, by many instances, that the last translation of the Bible into English may be improved. The first part on the Pentateuch or five books of Moses. By *Robert Gell*, D.D., Minister of the parish of St. Mary Alder-bury, London.” This long work, consisting of 805 folio pages, is rather of a theological, than of a philological description ; and is digested into twenty prolix Sermons. Thinking that what he terms “ the skeleton of mere criticisms ” would be useful to the learned only, and wishing to serve his generation as well as to condescend to the capacity of the meanest understanding, the author himself remarks, “ I have clothed that skeleton of criticisms with such *moral explications and applications* as I thought needful to the use of edifying.”\*

But a more appropriate, and not the least powerful, appeal to public judgement in favour of a new version was made in a tract, published in 1702, under the title of, “ An Essay for a new translation of the Bible ; wherein is shewn from reason and the authority of the best commentators, interpreters, and critics, that there is *a necessity for a new translation*. By H. R., a Minister of the Church of England.” The professed object of this essay is “ to remove all the cavils and exceptions of Atheists, Deists, and others against the Scriptures, and to shew, that what they think ridiculous, is only said by the translators.”† In the pursuit of this object the author displays much reading, but little judgment, and more zeal for religious opinion, than for rigid criticism. He unreservedly censures not only our authorized version, but all others, which by adhering too strictly to the letter, do not sufficiently explain what he conceives to be the sense of the original ; particularly in the translation of oriental meta-

\* Preface.

† Preface.

phor and phraseology. Thus he remarks, “when the original speaks of *God’s hand*, it should be translated *God’s power*; his *eyes* his *care* and *providence*; his *mouth*, his *order* or *commandments*; his *bowels*, his *most tender compassions*; &c.”\* And again, when it is said “*there is none that doeth good*,”† because he presumes, that the Psalmist by the expression *none* could only mean the *generality*, he proposes to insert the word *almost*, so as to read “*there is almost none that doeth good*.”‡ Because also libertines, as he apprehends, “imagine that God looks with indifference on the sons of men, when they read the words of Balaam, which the versions render, *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel* ;§ and because others think that God overlooks and winks at the sins of his own people, that is to be sure in their conceit, themselves and those of their sect and party; and because the most pious and judicious are puzzled what to make of them;” he proposes by a construction, which he asserts, that the words will bear, to read the passage thus, “*He does not approve afflictions or outrages against the posterity of Jacob, nor of vexation or trouble against the posterity of Israel*; that is, he does not approve that they should be afflicted or vexed.”§

This writer is persuaded that an endeavour to give a more exact translation of the Bible than any which had hitherto appeared” would be acceptable; adding, “and indeed it were to be wished, that those who are in power, did employ men of true learning and solid piety, free from bigotry, and blind zeal, in so noble and necessary a work.”|| And in order to evince the necessity of such an undertaking he charges the existing versions, particularly our own, with following the letter rather than the sense of the original, with making Scripture occasionally

\* Page 18.

† Ps. xiv. 1.

‡ Page 29.

§ Numb. xxiii. 21.

§ Page 156.

|| Page 42.



contradict itself; with confounding persons, animals, countries, and actions; with erroneously expressing coins, weights, and measures; with misunderstanding ambiguous expressions; and lastly with furnishing hardened sinners with excuses, and libertines and atheists with subjects for jesting. In what mode and upon what principles he proposes to have a new translation conducted, the preceding short specimens of his intended improvements may in some measure point out. By the adoption of any conjectural meanings which the words of the text, or, when they fail, which the sense of the context, *will bear*, his proposal goes to the formation of a theological version, which may obviate the scoffs of infidelity, silence controversy, and preclude scepticism. What critic can approve of such a project?

After the publication of this Essay, which passed through two editions, nothing but collateral and incidental notices seem to have been taken of the subject under consideration, until about the middle of the last century, when public attention was attracted to the laborious undertaking of Kennicot. In the year 1759 appeared a tract under the following title; “Remarks upon several passages of Scripture: rectifying some errors in the printed Hebrew text; pointing out several mistakes in the versions; and shewing the benefit and expediency of a more correct and intelligible translation of the Bible. By Matthew Pilkington, LL. B.” This tract is properly divided into two distinct parts. The first part is employed in attempting to prove, “that the present Masoretic copy of the Old Testament is, in many places, different from the original Hebrew text: and that the variations are frequently capable of being discovered, in such a manner, as to give us an opportunity of restoring it to its primitive purity.” The object of the second part is to show, “that many of the improprieties, obscurities, and inconsistencies, which occur to an attentive reader of any of the ver-



sions, are occasioned by the translators misunderstanding the true import of the Hebrew words and phrases." In this second part, which relates to the subject more immediately before me, the first part being wholly taken up with critical conjectures upon the Hebrew text, the author endeavours to convict our English translators of various inaccuracies, in order to point out "the benefit and expediency of a more correct and intelligible translation of the Bible." "For," he remarks, "if the English translators have not rightly understood the force of the Hebrew expressions; or if they have implicitly followed any of the ancient versions, as thinking they had given the true sense of the original, when they really had not done so; the translation must be so far imperfect, as not to convey to the reader the exact idea of what the sacred writer intended."\*

With this view he examines in minute detail, and rejects, the translation of various words and phrases; but almost always upon visionary principles of criticism. His amendments likewise seem to be seldom of importance in themselves, and never to affect either faith or morals. Some indeed of his remarks, he himself observes, were not inserted in pursuance of his general design, "as they neither point out any errors in the Hebrew text, nor shew any occasion for altering our translation of it."† And when he applies himself expressly to undermine the credit of the authorized version, I do not perceive either vigour or success in his efforts. What shall we say to the following instances? Because the word רוּחַ signifies *wind*, as well as *spirit*, he finds fault with our translators for thus rendering Gen. i. 2; "The *Spirit of God* moved upon the face of the waters." The whole verse he would thus amend; "The earth was chaotic, and uninformed; and darkness was upon the face of the abyss; and a most violent wind blew upon the surface of the water."‡ So

\* Page 77.

† Page 113.

‡ Page 161.

also in Psalm cxli 7, instead of the words, "Our bones are scattered *at the grave's mouth*" he would read, "Our bones are scattered *by the order of Saul*;" adding this remark; "The letters שׂאול are the same both in the *appellative* and the *proper* name. And as it hath been already made apparent, that too strict an adherence to the points may obscure the sense of a passage; so should a new version be ordered to be undertaken, the translators would consider themselves as more at liberty to examine the *propriety* of them, than the former composers of the modern versions have done."\*

Upon such singular charges of error it is scarcely worth while perhaps to dwell. I shall nevertheless subjoin one more, in which the vaulting ambition of his criticism completely overleaps itself. He contends, that יומים and מים, which he correctly enough terms the *dual and plural* of the word יום, although he contrives to confuse them together, signify sometimes *the space of two days*, and sometimes *a week*. This word, for he makes only one of both, in Numbers xi. 19, and in Exod. xvi. 29, is rightly translated, he says, "*two days*;" and then he assigns the following ground for his assertion; "we may observe, that the dual or plural of some numerals are used in the same manner. *It is well known to every Hebrew reader* עשר signifies *ten*, so עשרים signifies twice ten, or twenty; and that as אלף signifies one thousand, so אלפים, *unless it be particularly limited by some other numeral*, signifies *two thousand*."† But he is likewise of opinion, that it signifies a *week*, as in Numbers ix. 22, where instead of "whether it were *two days* or a month," as our translators render the passage, he would read, "whether it was a *week* or a month." According however to his preceding rule, which he only states instantly to forget, as the word is not here "*particularly limited by some other numeral*," "it must necessarily mean *two days*,

\* Page 158.

† Page 122.

and cannot possibly mean *seven*, or any other *particular number* of days. But in truth the whole remark is formed by the mere wantonness of conjecture. And what is more, even the infalible rule itself, which he states to be “well known to every Hebrew reader, viz. “that as אֶלֶף signifies *one thousand*, so אֲלָפִים, unless it be particularly limited by some other numeral, signifies *two thousand*,” possesses neither basis nor solidity, but crumbles at the slightest touch. For had he only referred to the second Commandment, as given in Exodus xx. 6, he must have immediately discovered, that אֲלָפִים, *unlimited by any other numeral*, may signify *thousands* indefinitely, as well as *two thousand* definitely; for it will scarcely, I apprehend, be argued, that God declared himself disposed only to “shew mercy upon אֲלָפִים *two thousand* of them that love him, and keep his commandments.” How easily is all this incurrancy and confusion remedied by the points, which distinguish אֲלָפִים *two thousand* from אֲלָפִים *thousands*.

I do not however mean to insinuate, that all Pilkington’s remarks are equally futile—some are more plausibly, and others more ably, supported; but I know of none, which make good any important charge of ignorance or inaccuracy against our translators.

At this period writers of rank, learning, and talent seemed to unite in expressing an earnest wish for a new version. In the year 1758 Dr. Lowth, before his merited exaltation to the mitre, preached a Visitation Sermon at Durham, which contained the following passage; “To confirm and illustrate the holy Scriptures, to evince their truth, to show their consistency, to explain their meaning, to make them more generally known and studied, more easily and perfectly understood by all, to remove the difficulties, that discourage the honest endeavours of the unlearned, and provoke the malicious cavils of the half-learned; this is the most worthy object that can engage our atten-

tion ; the most important end, to which our labours in the search of truth can be directed. And here I cannot but mention, that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than the exhibiting of the holy Scriptures themselves to the people *in a more advantageous and just light, by an accurate revisal of our vulgar translation by public authority. This hath often been represented, and I hope will not always be represented in vain.*"

The strong and public recommendation of the measure by so elegant a scholar as Lowth, made perhaps a considerable impression upon the mind of Archbishop Secker, who seems indeed to have been before sufficiently disposed to the undertaking. However that might have been, it is certain, that the Archbishop had intended to address the Convocation at its opening in the year 1761 upon this very topic, as appears by a Latin speech published at the end of his Charges, although never spoken. In that speech occurs the following passage ; Verum, utut de his statuatur, *novam saltem scripturæ versionem desiderari plurimis videtur : nempe ut populus Christianus ea luce fruatur, quæ, favente Numine, oraculis divinis per continuas virorum doctorum vigilias affulsit, hisce 150 annis proxime elapsis, ante quos confecta est Anglica Versio. Et quis refragetur honestissimæ petitioni ? Sed ad hoc opus post conquisitum undique omnigenæ eruditionis apparatus demum accedendum est ; atque in eo versandum summa religione, cautela, industria, cura porro inter multos amicissime conspirantes, per longum tempus dispertita. Prodeunt quotidie certatim interpretes ; sed fere proletarii, vel quorum supervacanea diligentia incertiores multo sumus quam dudum. Reviviscit linguæ sanctæ perquam necessaria cognitio : sed justas vires nondum acquisivit, et somniis suis se oblectant quidam ejus cultores. Expectandum ideo, si aliquid opera dignum facere volumus, donec hi aut resipuerint, aut erroris manifesti sint, donec defuerit novorum sensuum eruendorum æstus, et hæc pene dix-*



*rim rabies emendandi, qua impelluntur, ut mendis imprudenter referciunt codicem sacrum prohi nec ineruditi; donec denique exitum aliquem habeat laudandum apprime institutum confrendi inter se, et cum primævis interpretationibus veteris Testamenti libros Hebraice scriptos.*

From this extract it appears, that although the Archbishop deemed a new version highly desirable, yet he prudently recommended a postponement of the undertaking, until *the dreams of verbal theory, and the rage of textual emendation*, had gone by.

The project notwithstanding was still fondly cherished. Dr. Durell in the preface of his “Critical remarks on Job, Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles,” published in 1772, alludes to the subject in strong language. The chief excellency, he says, of the present version, “consists in being a closer translation, than any which had preceded; in using the properest language for popular use, without affectation of sublimity, nor yet liable to the charge of vulgarity of expression.\* \* But notwithstanding these concessions in its favour, it certainly does not exhibit, in many places, the sense of the text so exactly as the version of 1599; and mistakes it besides in an infinite number of instances. Frequently it expresses not the proper subject of the sentence; and adheres at other times so closely to the letter, as to translate idioms. It arbitrarily gives new senses to words; omits or supplies them without necessity; these last are indeed distinguished by another character; but very unfavourable inferences, either to the genuineness of the text, or to the nature of the Hebrew, must thence be drawn by a reader acquainted with that language. It is deficient with respect to the short explanatory notes in the margin, which abound in the last mentioned version. The words are at times so disposed as to create an hyperbaton, or are not sufficiently varied. And, to sum up all, it has this fault in common with the other,

that it may justly be questioned, whether any possible sense can by fair interpretation be deduced from the words in not a few places.”\*

The charges thus adduced against our established version appear I must confess at first sight rather formidable, and in support of them references are made to certain passages in the book of Job ; but they melt into air upon a closer examination. The tendency indeed of the whole is altogether *unimportant*. As a specimen however it will be sufficient to quote the three proofs alleged in support of that charge against it, in which the accuser says, that “frequently it expresses not *the proper subject of the sentence*.” His first proof is thus worded : Job iv. 5, “*but now it is come upon thee* כִּי עָתָה תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ. “There being no subject to the verb in the Hebrew, the LXX supply here πόνος, and the Vulgate *plaga* ; and I think it would be better, if, in imitation of them, we were to add in another character the word *misfortune* or *affliction* instead of the pronoun *it* to which there are no traces of an antecedent in the text.”† But our translators in rendering the verb תָּבוֹא “*it is come*” were right, and the critic wrong in his substitution of the Nominative case *misfortune* or *affliction*. There is a rule in Syntax, which Schröder thus expresses: “Usum neutralem in tertia persona singulari, tam masculina quam *fæminina*, recipere possunt verba intransitiva et passiva. Is locum habet \* \* in verbis, quæ se referunt non ad *certum et definitum* nomen, sed ad *rem, vel actionem, in sermone expressam*, pronomine, quod ad eam pertinet, vel addito vel omisso. Such then is the general rule ; and it is remarkable, that among other examples the grammarian illustrates this rule by *the very passage under discussion*. His reference is, תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ *venit ad te*, and תָּנֵעַ עֲדֶיךָ *pertingit usque ad te* ; scilicet, he adds, *hoc ipsum, quod*

\* Pages vi, vii.

† Page 5.



*alii ante te perpassi erant.\** It seems then that the grammatical inaccuracy is here altogether on the side of the critic.

Durell's second proof is the following: "Job viii. 18. *If he destroy him,* (אִם יִבְלַעֲנוּ) Rather with our old version, *If any destroy him*: for God is at too great a distance to suppose that *he* is the antecedent."† The reason assigned to prove that the word *God* cannot be what is termed the antecedent, seems of little validity; for that word occurs in the 13th verse, which runs thus; "*So are the paths of all that forget God,* and the hypocrite's hope shall perish: whose hope, &c.;" and so on to the verse in question, with which all the intervening verses are in evident connexion. Nor is the remoteness of the antecedent term at all unusual; as in Genesis xli. 13, "me *he* restored to my office, and him *he* hanged," where the nominative pronoun *he* evidently does not refer to *Joseph*, to whom the two preceding verses allude, but to *Pharaoh* who is not mentioned after the *tenth* verse, the account of *Joseph* intervening.

The third proof is thus expressed: "Job xv. 26. *He runneth upon him, even on his neck;* (יְרוֹץ אֱלֹהֵי בְצוֹאֵר) In our present version it is not clear whether *God* or the *wicked man* is here the aggressor; from the construction the latter might seem most probable: but from reason it must be the former. I would therefore with our old version, supply, *Therefore God.*"† To prove the charge adduced of mistaking the proper subject of the sentence, it should have been clear, what is stated to be not clear, that our translation erroneously represented *the wicked man* as the aggressor. But if it be doubtful to what person the pronoun *he* refers in the English version, so also is it equally doubtful in the original. Indeed this intermixture of allusions to different persons by the use of the same pro-

\* Institut. Ling. Heb. p. 361.

† Page 16.

noun in the same verse is too common in Hebrew to attract particular notice. A remarkable instance of it occurs 2 Samuel xi 13. "And when David had called *him* [Uriah,] *he* [Uriah] did eat and drink before *him* [David,] and *he* [David] made *him* [Uriah] drunk: and at even *he* [Uriah] went out to lie on his bed, &c." The substitution of the word *God* for the pronoun *he* would, I admit, give a more determinate sense, but it would be substituting that, which is not to be found in the Hebrew text; such a liberty might indeed suit a free paraphrase, but it would scarcely be tolerated in a literal translation.

Were these however, and even all the charges brought against our present version, fully established, the stability of religious opinion would not be in the slightest degree affected by them. For supposing the long wished for undertaking to be accomplished, and the many emendations which have been proposed, to be embodied in a new translation, Durell remarks, "The minds of the people cannot hereby be *unsettled*. *All* the leading arguments of religion will remain *undisturbed*; neither will the ground of their faith or practice be *ever so remotely affected*."\* Nevertheless hoping that the "very desirable period may not be *far distant*, when the great Council of these realms shall think it expedient to delegate the important charge of a new translation to men of approved learning and judgment, I have thought it," he says, "my duty to lay before the public some part of the materials, which have lain by me for a considerable time. My motive for so doing is, that they may be duly weighed *in the interval*, in order that if they meet with approbation *they may be serviceable on that occasion*; and that *others* blessed with greater abilities and advantages may hereby be induced *to pursue the same course*."†

But the distinguished Scholars, whose own feelings

\* Preface, page 7.

† Preface, page 1.

were interested, and who laboured to interest those of the public, in this favorite project, were not contented with a bare recommendation of it. They now began individually to attempt new translations of detached books of Scripture; not I apprehend with a view of thus superseding our established version of those books, but rather perhaps to exhibit the superiority of modern knowledge, and of modern criticism. Bishop Lowth himself, now advanced to the see of London, led the way by publishing in 1778 a new translation of *Isaiah*, which he denominated “an attempt to set *in a just light* the writings of the most sublime and elegant of the prophets of the Old Testament,”\* and which he was probably induced to undertake as affording an ample field for the display of poetical taste, and of critical conjecture. Nor did he forget again to notice, what he had long before suggested, *the necessity* of a new version under the sanction of public authority.

Alluding to some manuscript criticisms of Archbishop Secker upon the Bible, deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, he remarks, “These valuable remains of that great and good man will be of infinite service, whenever *that necessary work*, a new translation, or a revision of the present translation, of the holy Scriptures, for the use of our Church, shall be undertaken.”† Again he observes, “whenever it shall be thought proper to set forth the holy Scriptures, for the public use of our Church, to better advantage, than as they appear in the present English translation, *the expediency of which grows every day more and more evident*, a revision or correction of that translation may perhaps be more advisable, than to attempt an entirely new one. For as to the style and language it admits of but little improvement; but *in respect of the sense and accuracy of interpretation*, improvements of which it is capable *are great and*

\* Dedication to the King.

† Preface, page 61, Ed. 1793.

*numberless.*”\* The design of his own version of Isaiah was, he states, “not only to give *an exact and faithful* representation of the words and of the sense of the prophet, by adhering *closely* to the letter of the text, and treading *as nearly as may be* in his footsteps; but moreover to imitate the air and manner of the author.”† Nevertheless he remarks, “much of our vulgar translation is retained in it. For as the style of that translation is not only *excellent in itself, but has taken possession of our ear, and of our taste*, to have endeavoured to vary from it, with no other design than that of giving something new instead of it, would have been to disgust the reader, and to represent the sense of the prophet in a more unfavourable manner.”‡ And when it does deviate, still, he adds, it “will perhaps be found to be in general *as close to the text, and as literal*, as our English version.”§

In the following year the Laudian Professor of Arabic|| published a Sermon, which had been preached before the University of Oxford, under the following title; “A revival of the English translation of the Old Testament recommended.” The great argument advanced by the Professor, in favour of the revival, which he recommends, is derived from the improved state of biblical criticism in modern times contrasted with that, which existed at the period, when our present version was compiled. At that time, he observes, “the MS. copies of the Old Testament had not been consulted; the ancient Masoretic text was in general followed without scruple. \* \* The collateral dialects of the original tongues had been but moderately cultivated, and were but imperfectly understood. \* \* Ancient versions have since been published, which were not before extant, at least in a public form, to Europe in general.”¶ Hence therefore he argues, that possessing more

\* Preface, page 63. † Preface, page 1. ‡ Ibid. page 63. § Ibid.

|| J. White, M. A., afterwards D. D., and regius Professor of Hebrew.

¶ Page 11.

ample stores of critical information than our forefathers, we ought to employ them in the improvement of our national version. Not that this version labours under material deficiencies ; for it contains, as he admits, “nothing but what is pure in its representation of Scriptural doctrine ; nothing but what is animated in its expressions of devout affection ; *general fidelity to its original* being hardly more its characteristic, than sublimity in itself. The English language acquired new dignity by it ; and has hardly acquired additional purity since : it is still considered as the standard of our tongue. If a new version should ever be attempted, the same turn of expression will doubtless be employed ; for it is a style consecrated not more by custom, than by its own native propriety.”\*

The Plan adopted by Bishop Lowth in his translation of Isaiah was soon followed by Mr. Blayney, (afterwards D. D. and Regius Professor of Hebrew,) who in the year 1784 published a new version of Jeremiah. In his preliminary discourse the learned author strongly urges the expediency of a new translation of the whole Bible ; hoping that the time is not far distant, when the task of bringing forward Kennicot’s collations “will not be left in the hands of a few well intentioned individuals, but will be undertaken on a more extensive plan by a select assembly of the most learned and judicious divines, *commissioned by public authority*, to examine into the state of the Hebrew text, *to restore it as nearly as possible to its primitive purity*, and *to prepare from it a new translation* of the Scriptures in our own language for the public service.”†

Archbishop Newcome, then Bishop of Waterford, trod in the same path ; and published new versions of the Minor Prophets, and of Ezekiel. The former came out in 1785, the latter in 1788. And in 1792, Mr. Wintle

\* Page 9,

† Page ix.



completed, what was wanting in the list of prophetic writings, by publishing a new translation of Daniel.

In the mean time the literary world had to lament the death of Dr. Kennicot, who did not live long after editing his laborious collations. The latter part however of his life was employed in writing and preparing for the press, "Remarks on select passages in the Old Testament," which in 1787 ultimately became a posthumous publication. These remarks appear to have been composed with a view of assisting in the favourite project of the day, whenever it should be executed; and the introduction to them, written by the author himself, pleads the *necessity* of the undertaking.

At the same time, that these eminent scholars, and divines of the Church of England were employed in translating the prophetic books of Scripture, Dr. Geddes, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, was projecting a new version of the whole Bible, and in 1786 published his "*Prospectus* of a new translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected texts of the originals, compared with the ancient versions." In this prospectus he assumes "as a position generally agreed upon, that a new translation of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament, is still wanted."\* Although he imputes faults and defects, as others had done before him, to our authorized version, yet he speaks of it with the greatest candour and liberality. He observes, "The highest eulogiums have been made on it both by our own writers and by foreigners; and indeed if *accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text*, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent version, *this of all versions must in general be accounted most excellent. Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter, and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude*, and expressed, either in the

\* Page 2.



text or margin, with the greatest precision. Pagninus himself is hardly more literal; and it was well remarked by Robertson, above an hundred years ago, that it may serve for a lexicon of the Hebrew language, as well as for a translation.”\*

Archbishop Newcome mentions and quotes another pamphlet, which was published in 1787, under the title of “Reasons for revising by authority our present version, &c.” This I have never seen. From the extracts given, it appears to contain answers to certain popular objections to the proposed measure.

But Archbishop Newcome himself gives the fullest account, and suggests the strongest arguments in favour of the undertaking, in a tract called, “An Historical View of the English Biblical translations; the expediency of revising by authority our present Translation: and the means of executing such a revision.” This, as its title imports, contains not only a detail of all which has been done in the way of English translation, and of all which has been written upon the necessity of a new version; but also gives such rules as are best calculated in the authors judgment to render that version most perfect.

To the list of distinguished writers, arguing the propriety, and exhibiting in their own productions specimens, of an improved translation, must be added Bishop Horsley, who, with equal confidence in his critical emendations, but with less extravagance of critical principle, published a new translation of Hosea.

Perhaps too I should notice Mr. S. Greenaway, the author of a version, with a paraphrase, of Ecclesiastes. In this quaint production of talent, piety, and eccentricity, the principal part of which is expanded into a multifarious assemblage of “notes and reflections” unconnected and unarranged, that singular writer bitterly inveighs against

\* Page 92.

the attempts of Houbigant, Lowth, Kennicot, Blayney, &c., for introducing alterations of the text by critical conjecture alone. I shall simply quote his general remark upon Blayney. After having severely censured “the *petulant, conceited, presumptuous, and absurd* Houbigant,” he thus proceeds; “But turn we, reader, to an author of a different character, *Mr. Blayney*; to whom we are obliged for a learned, judicious, and pious commentary on Jeremiah.” But he is touched with the distemper of conjectural insanity, and in his fits gives us the most frightful views of *corruptions* in the sacred text. See in his index the article of, *Corrections Hebrew text by MSS.* 272; *Corrections Hebrew text by ancient versions only* 30; *Corrections Hebrew text by conjecture* 66; in all 368. What an alarming number! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon! But it is only when viewed at a distance” (an assertion, which he subsequently endeavours to prove by a long and minute examination of them) “that they seem formidable. On a nearer view they are as harmless as the shadowy monsters, which appeared to oppose Æneas in his way to the Stygian lake.

———tenues sine corpore vitæ,

———cava sub imagine formæ”\*

\* Page 297.

## CHAP. II.

*Mr. Bellamy's New Translation. Object of it. His Incompetency. Proved from Genesis XIX. His Novel Translation of Ver. 5, 25, 32. Singular Disquisition on the word קום. Ignorance in supposing the existence of a preterpluperfect tense in Hebrew.*

IN the preceding chapter I have given a short account of the writers upon the subject under consideration, who flourished in the last century. And here perhaps I might terminate the enquiry. But at the commencement of the present century one of so peculiar a character has appeared in the catalogue of biblical translators, that it would be as improper to overlook, as it is mortifying to notice him. I allude to *Mr. J. Bellamy*, who, supported by a liberal subscription, has recently undertaken to give a new translation of the Bible from the Hebrew alone. His object is, as he himself states, “to stem the torrent of infidelity, by enabling those, who have not studied the Hebrew language, to silence the objections, which have so long been, and still continue to be, advanced against the divine truth.”\* Unlike however his predecessors in this arduous enterprize, he strenuously maintains the *absolute integrity* of the Hebrew text; and deems not only the Masoretical vowels, but even the Masoretical accentuation, of which nevertheless he seems to have a very superficial knowledge, undoubtedly original. In contempt likewise of every other interpretation given to that text by the most ancient, as well as by more modern translators, he blazons forth his own

\* Classical Journal, No. XXXVI. p. 225.

as the only correct and faithful one : as alone conveying the genuine sense of the Hebrew in all its pristine purity.

He has already published the book of *Genesis* with an introduction and copious notes, in the former of which he asserts that the present text “is as perfect as the autograph of Moses ;”\* and not only that *word* for *word* and *letter* for *letter*, but that “*vowel* for *vowel* and *accent* for *accent*” has always been accurately copied from an authentic standard ; “and that the words of Christ have been hitherto verified, where he says, *that not one iota, or one tittle shall pass from the law, until all be fulfilled.*”† And if indeed there be any point, upon which he more particularly prides himself, it is his attention to the minutiae of vowels and accents. Yet is it impossible to read a page of his translation without perceiving, that he wants himself to be informed upon subjects, on which he undertakes to inform others.

As the public appear to attach considerable importance to this vain undertaking, and as the latest production usually excites the greatest attention, I shall examine it more minutely, than I should have otherwise thought necessary ; confining however my remarks, that I may not be too prolix, to a part of the nineteenth chapter only ; a chapter which exhibits a specimen of perverted and illiterate interpretation seldom paralleled. In the fifth verse. instead of the words, “that we may *know* them,” Mr. Bellamy substitutes, “for we will *detect* them ;” because “the word **נִדְעָה** which is rendered *know*, is translated variously, by which any thing *is made known* ; as *know, conscious, understand, direct, detect, &c.* Prov. x 9 ; *he that perverteth his ways, shall be known* (detected.) Psal. lxxvii. 19 ; *thy footsteps are not known* (detected.) It refers to the mission, on which these two messengers came, in order to put an end to idolatry ; but who were

\* Introduction, p. ix, xiii.

Ibid. p. xxiii.

assailed by the enthusiastic idolaters of Sodom, who did not say as is said in the vulgar version, *that we may know them, but we will detect them.*" I must confess that this ingenious argument to prove *knowledge* and *detection* (to say nothing of *knowledge* and *direction*) one and the same thing appears not to me very satisfactory, or even intelligible. we may be said, for example, to *know* a pious and good man, but we cannot without absurdity be said to *detect* him. Granting however the words to be perfectly synonymous, what shall we obtain by it ! A clear sense in the passage ? Certainly not ; since we are required to proceed a step farther, and admit, what we are told in the note. but what we should have never suspected from the text, that the words *we will detect them* signify *we will put them to death* ; for in immediate continuation of the former remark it is added, "*Thus they were determined to put them to death, in defence of their religion.*" Another sublimation this, still more subtle, and more incomprehensible, from what we before contemplated as a mere caput mortuum. Nor is this all ; for after only two short intervening verses we are given to understand, that *to know* means not simply *to detect* and to *put to death*, but also *to approve of* ; for in ver. 8, the vulgar version, as he terms it, which has these words, " Behold now I have two daughters which have not *known* man," is thus corrected by him ; " Behold, now with me† two daughters who have not *approved of* man."

Instances of an unpardonable negligence† are not unfre-

\* The alteration of "*I have*" into "*with me*" unfortunately gives neither the Hebrew nor the English idiom of the expression י. The Hebrew literally is, " Behold now [there are] to me two daughters;" that is, *I have* two daughters, as the established version translates it.

† A remarkable one occurs Gen. iii. 23, where instead of the correct translation, as in the established version, "*to till* the ground," he renders the clause, "*when he had transgressed* on the ground;" for



quent ; but in the 25th verse an alteration is introduced, in which it is difficult to say which predominates most, inattention, or conceit of superior sagacity. The established version runs thus ; “ he overthrew *those* cities.” This he says should be, “ he overthrew the cities *of the God,*” אַתְּ-הָעִירִים הָאֵל. The reasons assigned for the change are the following ; “ The אַת or the ה prefixed to עִירִים *cities*, cannot be translated by the pronoun plural *those*. And the word אֵל is entirely omitted, which is one of the most important words in the verse ; as it shows us what crime it was for which these cities were destroyed.” Is not this self-confident Hebraist aware, that אֵל with or without the article ה is a pronoun as well as a substantive ; and that it is therefore the word הָאֵל instead of אַת, which our translators render *those* ? He cannot well be ignorant of it ; because in the 8th verse the same word occurs with לְאֲנָשִׁים *men*, which both *he* and they alike translate *these*, “ to *these* men do nothing ?” Why therefore does he just afterwards give the word a different signification ; an inconsistency of which *they* are not guilty ? Is it not, because he has an hypothesis to serve, which they had not ?

In pursuance also of the same object, and to rescue the

which alteration he gives the following reason ; “ The word לַעֲבֹר is rendered to *till* ; but this word with this construction means to *transgress*. See Deut. xvii 2. where the same word both consonants and vowels is rendered by the word *transgressing*.” Had the expression been לַעֲבֹר as he states it to be, and even writes it in Roman characters, his criticism would have had some application ; this however is not the case. It is not עֲבֹר to *transgress*, but עֲבָר to *serve* or to *till*, when connected with the word *ground*. Surely he must have known a *Resh* from a *Daleth*. But he seems to have hastily run it over with a careless eye, wrapt up in the self important office of clearing Scripture from, what he terms, “ useless repetitions, which always obscure the sense, and frequently subvert the meaning, as in this passage.”



character of Lot from a crime hitherto universally imputed to him, in the 32d verse, for the words “*let us make our father drink wine,*” the following are substituted, “*we will drink wine with our father.*” The reader perhaps may be disposed to smile at the idea of palliating the conduct of Lot by introducing his daughters as participating in his intemperance. Not so Mr. Bellamy. For he tells us, that *to drink wine* means *to pour out libations of wine, or to offer a drink offering of wine*, at the accustomed time of morning or evening sacrifice. Thus, not satisfied with translating the Hebrew original in a manner, of which no one ever before dreamed, he gives a sense to English phraseology too recondite for a common understanding to discern. But as he is undoubtedly privileged to explain his own language in his own way, I will leave him in the full enjoyment of that privilege, and proceed to his critical defence of this novel translation. In a note he says, “The verb נשקה is rendered *let us make—drink*. But the obvious translation is, *we will drink.*” Obvious however as this may appear to him, it is far from being so to any one who thinks that some advantage may be derived from consulting a Lexicon, or who is endowed with the meanest portion of critical acumen. For the verb in question never occurs in the conjugation *Kal*, and cannot therefore be construed *we will drink*; once it occurs in Niphal, (but here Keri has ונשקעה,) and once also in Puhil; but it is found *fifty-eight* times in *Hiphil*. In *twenty-seven* of these instances it is in a tense, which is sufficiently marked by its præformant ה; and in the remaining *thirty-one*, including that of the text under consideration, it is every where broadly distinguished from *Kal* by *Pathach*, the characteristical vowel of the future of *Hiphil*. Now if Mr. Bellamy will be pleased to admit, that *Hiphil* is a *causative* conjugation, he must confess that all other translators are right, and that he on this occasion at least is wrong.

But how is it that he writes the word נִשְׁקָה, not נִשְׁקָה? Is this mere carelessness, ignorance, or design? The substitution of the vowel *Chireh* for *Pathach* makes indeed all the difference; but I cannot suppose, that he would *dare* to deviate from the vowels of the received text, which he conceives to be equally as inspired as the consonants of it, and to the reading of which he professes inviolably to adhere. Besides, he seems to know that the proper verb for the expression *to drink* is שָׁתָה not הִשְׁקָה, because in Gen. xxiv. 14, where both the words occur, he makes the correct distinction between them, rendering אֲשָׁתָה *I will drink*, and אֲשָׁקָה *I will give—drink*. I very much suspect however, that there he is more indebted for his correctness to the very translators whom he despises, than to his own ingenuity.

Perhaps also he will condescend to be told, that the same verb is used in Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic: *never* however in the sense of the conjugation Kal, *to drink*, but *always* in that of the conjugation Hiphil, *to cause to drink*. An irrefragable proof this, that, when the Masorets uniformly pointed this verb with the distinguishing vowel of Hiphil, they did it not only in compliance with the grammatical peculiarities of their own language, but also in perfect conformity with the established usage of every other oriental language belonging to the same family. The result of this remark completely annihilates the new sense, which he attempts for a particular purpose to fix upon the verb in question.

Having dwelt so long upon his erroneous explanation of the principal word in this passage, I shall spare myself the trouble of pointing out his other more minute inaccuracies, and proceed to the last novelty of interpretation which I propose to notice, and which is contained in the 33rd verse. The sentence וְלֹא־יָרַע בְּשֹׁכְנָהּ וּבְקוֹמָהּ instead of, “And he perceived not, *when she lay down,*

nor when she *arose*," he translates, "But he knew not, *where she abode*, neither when she *married*." Here, either in perfect ignorance, or in perfect contempt of Hebrew syntax, he renders the preposition כ prefixed to the infinitive שכב by the adverb *where*, and that without the slightest pretence of authority. His sole remark upon the point is this; "When she lay down. It certainly does not require both a *verb* and an *adverb* to explain the meaning of כשכבה as in the common version." What must we think of that man's grammatical knowledge, even in our own language, who is not aware of the distinction between an *adverb* and a *conjunction* denominating *when* an *adverb*; or of that man's consistency, who after censuring the common version for explaining the meaning of a word not only with a *verb* but also with an *adverb*, (which proves however to be a *conjunction*,) does exactly the same thing himself, with this little difference alone, that the adverb, which he uses, is *not* the English of the original expression! That a preposition with an infinitive mood is used in Hebrew for a conjunction with an indicative or subjunctive mood would have been too trite a remark I should have conceived to escape even his observation. I subjoin to the following rule upon the subject from Schroeder's Grammar; Particulas inseparabiles ככלו quando præfixas habent infinitivi, modo nostris Gerundiis respondent, modo alias, Hebræis peculiaries, loquendi formulas efficiunt, quarum aliquas Latinus sermo non aliter exprimere potest, quam ita, ut *Infinitivus, ope alicujus conjunctionis, in verbum finitum resolvatur* כ quando præmittitur infinitivo, inservit tempori exprimendo, in quo aliquid fit; ut כבוא אנרי in *venire domini mei*, i. e. *quum venerit dominus meus* 2 Reg. v. 18. כהיותם in *esse eorum*, i. e. *quando fuerunt*.

Upon the verb שכב he observes, that "it truly signifies to rest, to lodge, Joshua ii. 1, and lodge there;" and upon such account it is that he translates it to abide.

This I deny. Its true signification, as any Lexicon will inform him, which he may condescend to consult, is *to lie down*; so that the words “and *lodged* there” must be considered as synonymous with “and *lay* there.”

But the most extraordinary link in the chain of cognate ideas ever fabricated, is that which he has fastened upon the unfortunate verb קום, usually construed *to stand* or *to rise*, but which he construes *to be married*. “The various modes,” he says, “by which a verb is expressed, agreeably to the idea of the writer or speaker, are many in all languages. Thus it is said of a person, who *rises* in the world, as to property or situation, that he is *established, stands, remains, subsists, continues, endures, maintains, withstands, justified, absolved, succeeds.*” Does he mean that all these verbs are synonymous with the verb *rises*, and may be used indifferently for it? But let us hear him further. “And with regard to the operation of any *purpose, counsel, word, doctrine, prediction, promise, decree, decision, vow, agreement, or bargain, it*” (that is, the verb קום) “means to *stand good, to be ratified, established, confirmed, made sure, performed*; Gen. xvii. 13, *arise*; Deut. xix. 15, *established*; Josh. xi 11, *remain*; 1 Sam. xiii. 14, *continue*; Jer. xlv. 29, *shall stand*. And consequently this word in the strictest sense *embraces the act of marriage*. For when a woman *is married*, she *is then established*; the *bond, vow, or bargain is made sure*; *is ratified and confirmed*. Therefore the above sense and application of the word I have chosen *must necessarily be allowed.*”

In this singular species of reasoning there seems a strange jumble of language, and no very lucid development of idea; but if I comprehend the drift of it, it is intended to prove, that because a contract *is established* during the act of marriage, and because the verb קום, when connected with a substantive expressive of any contract, means *to be established*, therefore the verb קום

embraces the act of marriage; and further, that because a woman is said *to be established*, when she *is married*, and because the verb קום signifies *to be established*, when applied to the contract made by a woman in marriage, therefore also must the same verb signify *to be married*. This singular critic particularly prides himself upon his knowledge of major and minor propositions.\* I leave him to explain the species of propositions to which he alludes; but the reader perhaps will not be disposed to think, that he has here exhibited any great skill in *logical* propositions. With respect however to his first syllogism, granting the truth of the premises, I can only admit the conclusion under *a certain limitation*, viz. that the verb קום, although it means *to be established* when connected with a substantive, expressive of *any* contract, yet never *embraces the act of marriage*, unless when connected with a substantive or substantives expressive of *the marriage* contract. And with respect to the second, a fallacy pervades the whole argument; for he only proves, what no one ever doubted, that the verb קום signifies *to be established*, when applied to *a word* meaning some contract made or to be made, not when applied to *a woman* as in the text, who is not said to make, to have made, or to be about to make, any contract whatsoever. Besides, were this verb capable of such an application in such a sense, the conclusion stated would not then follow; for although it be indeed true, that when every woman is *married*, she is said *to be established*, the converse by no means holds, that when every woman *is established*, she is said *to be married*; otherwise what would become of all establishments for *unmarried* women? Nor perhaps will even Mr. Bellamy himself contend, that when we say, a woman *stands* or *rises*, we mean, that *she is married*.

\* Classical Journal, No. XXXVII, p. 29:



But notwithstanding that his reasoning upon this perplexed point is nothing more than confusion worse confounded ; let us for a moment suppose it to be correct, and what will be the result? Only that the verb קום *may*, not that it *does, signify to be married* ; for he will scarcely assert, that it bears such a meaning in any other part of the Bible. Still however he may be disposed to argue, that a word “should be translated, not only as it is in *other* parts of Scripture, but also consistently with *the obvious sense of the narrative,*” and that the meaning, which he wishes to impose upon the verb קום *is* thus consistent. But with *what* obvious sense of the narrative is the meaning which he attributes to it consistent? Clearly not with any sense ascribed to it by any translator or commentator, ancient or modern, *himself alone* excepted. And can we for a moment listen to a man, who tells us, that he uses a word in a signification before unheard of, because he conceives that signification to be consistent with the obvious sense of the narrative, in which it occurs ; a sense as unheard of, until invented by him, as the signification itself? But indeed his sense of the narrative is more dependent upon this signification of the word, than this signification of the word is upon his sense of the narrative; for translate קום in the usual manner, and the uncemented fabric of his novel narrative falls to the ground.

I have been more particular in my remarks upon this chapter, although not so particular as I might have been, in order to shew what little reliance is to be placed upon the judgment of such a writer ; of a writer, who, I believe from no bad motive, but with the most unpardonable arrogance and folly, fresh points the shafts of infidelity against every interpretation of Scripture, except his own.

Before I conclude my strictures on this anomalous translator, I must advert to a grammatical discovery, which he flatters himself that he has made, of considerable importance ; one, which has hitherto escaped the united penetra-



tion of Jews and of Christians ; of Jews at least since the time of Ezra, and of Christians at all periods : it is the discovery of a *preterpluperfect tense*, distinctly marked, in Hebrew. “The rule,” he says, “for the pluperfect tense does not appear to have been known either by Jews or Christians, since the dispersion of the Jewish nation, though it is pointed out in the language, and only required industry to trace out its *conformity* in every part of Scripture.” His reasoning a priori to prove, that there *must* have always existed some formal method of expressing this tense in Hebrew, is curious. “It will be seen,” he observes, “by the intelligent reader, that as there is a power exercised by man, which carries the mind to a period more remote, than the first preter, or recent past time ; there must be an expression for such a modification of the preter tense, as we find in *all* languages.” Certainly not in any *oriental* language of the same family with Hebrew. But let us proceed. “And therefore it would be *absurd* to suppose, that the Hebrew, the most expressive, the most comprehensive, and the most correct of all languages, the language in which God gave his commands, should be defective in this point. Consequently there *must* have been *some formal method of expressing* the existence of this remote preter among the ancient Hebrews.”\* Notwithstanding, however, the risk which I may run of incurring the supreme contempt of a man so well satisfied with the infallibility of his own conclusions, I must still confess, that I am inclined to swim with the universal current of opinion from the days of Ezra to our own ; and to consider the Hebrew language as having always laboured under the deficiency alluded to.

But what is this wonderful rule ? I will give it in his own words : “The rule for the modification of the preter tense, which modification is called the preterpluperfect

\* Introduction, p. xxxix.

tense, depends on the accent פֿשׁט [פֿשׁטא] i. e. *to put off*, which is its meaning. That is, it is *so called*, because it *puts off* the time of the verb to a time more remote.”\*

Such is the ground-work of his rule ; but what must we think of it, when we find him betraying the grossest ignorance of the *name and nature* of that very accent, upon which it depends. This it is by no means difficult to prove ; for in the first place פֿשׁט does not signify *in Hebrew* what he asserts, viz. *to put off* in the sense of *defferring*, or, as he uses the word, of *referring*, an action to a more remote period. Its proper meaning is *exuo, extraho, to strip off*, as a skin or garment ; and in this sense only can the English verb, *to put off*, be applicable to it. The terms however are by no means convertible. For although he may be said *to put off*, for instance, as well as *to strip off*, his coat at pleasure, he can only be said *to put off*, but by no means *to strip off*, the intended publication of the remaining parts of his version, should he be so disposed, to a more convenient opportunity.

Nor is this all. By building his hypothesis upon the supposed Hebrew signification of the word, he shows himself to have been totally unapprized, that the names of the accents are not Hebrew, but *Chaldee*. This the very termination of the accent in question פֿשׁט might alone have taught him ; to say nothing of others, which are capable of being derived from a Chaldee root alone. The Chaldee verb פֿשׁט then, very different from the Hebrew verb with the same radicals, signifies *to stretch out*, as the arms in action, or *to bend down*, as the eyes towards the ground. Hence it is that its substantive form פֿשׁטא which constitutes the name of the accent in question, has been usually considered, as bearing the sense of *extension*, and as serving to regulate the intonation of the voice on a

\* Introduction, p. xxxix.

syllable, which is succeeded by a slight pause. The use of accents surely he must know, if he knows any thing upon the subject, was adopted to mark, not a distinction of tenses, but a distinction of sense in the public reading of Scripture, by determining the appropriate inflexions and pauses of the voice in every sentence.

But he will perhaps say, Might not accents however have a secondary use, and indicate the tenses of verbs? They certainly might do so; but what proof of it exists? Of the whole number, he only assumes it to be the case of one. And it should be added, that were this the secondary use of *Pashta*, why is not that accent confined to *verbs* alone? Why is it so frequently connected with words belonging to every other part of speech.

After all however is it certain, that he is sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew accents to distinguish between *Pashta* and any other accent of the *same figure*? From the evidence of his writings I am persuaded that he is not. For immediately after stating his general rule as above, he gives, what he calls "*proofs* for the existence of this modification of the preter tense." His proofs consists of the following references. Gen. xvi. 5, *that she had conceived*, הֲרָתָה;—xix. 17, *when they had brought forth*, כִּהְוֹצִיָאם;—xxxiii. 19, *he had there spread*;—xxxv. 7, *for there he had repaired the altar*, וִיבִן;—ibid, *also he had preached*;—v. 14. *Jacob had erected*, יִצְב;—v. 15, *Jacob had called the name of the place*, יִקְרָא;—ibid. *where God had spoken with him*, דִּבֶּר; Joshua v. 12, *after they had eaten*;—viii. 13, *when they had set*, יִשְׁבוּ;—x. 1, *had taken*, לָכַר;—xiv. 3, *for Moses had given*, נָתַן;—Judges xiv. 18, *if ye had not ploughed*, חֲרַשְׁתֶּם;—xxi. 5, *for they had made a great oath*, הִתִּיָה;—Ruth i. 6, *she had heard*;—1 Kings i. 6, *had not displeased*, עֲצָבוּ;—1 Chron. x. 9, *when they had stripped*. These references amount in all to *seventeen*;

out of which number there are certainly but *five* where the verbs occur marked with the accent *Pashta*, viz. Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxv. 7; also *he* had *preached*; Joshua v. 12; Ruth i. 6, and 1 Chron. 9. And with respect to the remaining *twelve* verbs, *eight* of them are all marked with the accent *Kadma*; viz. Gen. xix. 17, xxxv. 14, xxxv. 15; Ibid. Joshua viii. 13, x. 1, xiv. 3; 1 Kings i. 6; while of the other *four*, one, Gen. xvi. 5, הִרְתָּה has the accent *Zakeph Katon*; another Gen. xxxv. 7, (for there he had repaired וִיבֶן) has *Mahpach*; the third, Judges xiv. 18, חֲרִשְׁתֶּם, has *Munach*; and the fourth, Judges xxi. 5, הִיָּתָה, has *Rebia*.

To what can all this blundering be attributed? In the four last mentioned instances indeed it might have arisen from mere inattention, from permitting the eye accidentally to wander from the verb in question to an adjoining, or nearly adjoining word with a *Pashta* over it. But what shall we say to the *eight* instances, out of the seventeen referred to, as all marked with *Pashta*, in which the accent *Kadma* instead of *Pashta* appears? That this must have been owing to complete ignorance, the reader will immediately perceive, when he is told, that the form of these two accents is precisely *the same*, the one being distinguishable from the other, not *by figure*, but solely *by position*. The distinction is this, A *Pashta*, when the sole accent of a word, is always placed over the *last* letter of the syllable, as פִּקֹּד; but *Kadma*, as its name signifying *priority* imports, always over the *first*, as פִּקֹּד. The conclusion is obvious. He has mistaken one for the other; a mistake which pervades his whole work; and has thus stumbled at the very threshold of his theory.

But not satisfied with even this great discovery, he ventures to proceed a little farther; and attempts to prove the existence of *two* preterpluperfect tenses in Hebrew, the one more remote in point of time than the other. This

still more remote preterpluperfect is characterized, he conceives, by being honoured with *two* Pashtas. Now all, who are in the least acquainted with the doctrine of accents, know, that the proper situation of *Pashta* is over the *last* letter of the *last syllable* ; but that when a word requires it, the *natural* accent or tone of which word falls upon the *penultima*, or when the last syllable has *Pathach furtive*, or a double *Sheva*, then and then only, from the necessity of the case, are *two* Pashtas employed ; one being placed over the *last letter of the last syllable* as usual, the other over *the syllable upon which the tone falls*, thus פִּקְדוֹתֵי, that only, which is over the penultima affecting the pronunciation. What has this modification of an accent, adopted merely to suit the variety of emphasis, to do with the modification of tenses ?

It should likewise be remarked, that if a peculiar designation of time were really effected by *Pashta*, when it is used with a verb, such effect would be produced uniformly ; as indeed he distinctly states it is, asserting, that the observation of his rule is “regular throughout Scripture.” The reverse however proves to be the fact ; for verbs, which have *Pashta* are found by the context to be in *all* tenses. Thus Gen. iii. 22, the verb וּלְקַח marked with this accent, he himself construes *shall take*, as a future in the following clause ; “therefore now surely he *shall* put forth his hand, and *take* also of the tree of life.” Again Gen. xxvii. 25, the verb וְאֵכְלָה with the same accent he correctly translates, *and I will eat* ; “approach before me, and *I will eat* the repast of my son.” Now in both these instances it is apparent from the context, that a *future* action alone is alluded to. This is still clearer in the narrative of Joseph’s dream, when his brethren say to him, “*Shalt* thou reign over us ?” where the verb *shalt thou reign* is תִּמְלֹךְ with *Pashta*.

Nor is this the case only when a *single Pashta*, but



also, when *two* occur over the same verb. So Gen. xxii. 2, he construes, אַהֲבָתָּה *thou lovest*, not *thou hadst loved*. "Take now thy son, thy only son, whom *thou lovest*." And in the 6th verse of the same chapter he renders וַיִּשֶׂם *which he laid*, not *which he had laid*; "Abraham took the wood of the offering, which *he laid* upon Isaac." What may be his opinion upon the point, when he gets to the book of Numbers, I know not; but in chap. xxiv. 17, it will puzzle him I conceive to translate, according to his rule, in what he calls the most remote preterpluperfect tense, the verb אֶרְאֶנּוּ "I shall see him, but not now;" as the prophet Balaam is indisputably alluding to the *future* fortune of the Israelites. But indeed the hypothesis is altogether too unsound to endure the minutest examination, and so hollow as to ring at every touch.

I have been more particular in my remarks upon this singular attempt at a new translation of the Bible, in consequence of the public expectation which that attempt seems to have excited. The Quarterly Reviewers, however, have denounced without reserve its total failure; and for their spirited condemnation of it deserve the thanks of every friend to solid reasoning and sober criticism. Foreigners, it is to be hoped, will not form their estimate of the present state of Hebrew erudition among us from so illiterate a production, notwithstanding the respectable subscription which has been obtained to encourage it. For in this country, it should be recollected, the plausible projector, and importunate promoter, of every undertaking, apparently useful, and certainly laborious, solicit not public patronage in vain; and seldom is incapacity presumed, until it be detected.

Having thus devoted a whole chapter to the eccentricities of a translator, who regards convertibility as the essence of Hebrew construction, and incomprehensibility as the object of Hebrew criticism, not in compliment to

him, but solely in deference to the notice, which he has received, I shall now release myself from all further allusion to him; and return with satisfaction to authors of name and credit, whose opinions are worth refutation.

### CHAP. III.

*Expediency only of a new translation asserted on the other side. No inaccuracies in the present translation affecting faith or morals. Probable reasons which might have prevented compliance with the proposal for a new translation under authority. No good case made out in support of that proposal. The received Hebrew text stated to be corrupt. Mode of amending it inefficient. Collations of MSS. and versions. No classifications of MSS. ever attempted. Under different editions impracticable. All MSS. and versions, the Septuagint alone excepted, of one and the same edition. Septuagint too corrupted for use. Eichorn. Critical Principles adopted by the advocates for a new translation unsatisfactory and fallacious. Baver. Eichorn.*

THE various writers in favour of a new version, have generally had in their contemplation a translation of the whole Bible, as well of the New as of the Old, Testament; but their arguments have been principally, and sometimes exclusively, limited to the consideration of the question, as connected with the state of the Old Testament alone. To this latter point, therefore, I shall altogether confine my own observations.

From the detail of opinions contained in the first chapter, comprehending those of the principal writers upon the subject from the commencement to the conclusion of the last century, it may be seen that, while some have argued *the necessity*, others have only urged *the expediency* of the measure. The anonymous author of "An Essay for a new translation of the Bible," proposes in his very title page to demonstrate "*the necessity*" of the undertaking; Lowth denominates it "*a necessary work*;" and Kenni-

cott alludes to “the *great expediency, or rather the necessity* of a more exact English Bible.”\* What precise idea was here intended to be affixed to the word *necessity*, does not appear; but it was probably one in perfect conformity with an observation of Archbishop Newcome, who makes the following remarks:—“In common language a measure is said to be *necessary*, when it is *highly expedient*.”†

Presuming therefore, that the term was meant to be taken in so limited a point of view, let us next see upon what this presumption of a high expediency was grounded. Certainly not upon the notion, that our present translation contains errors in any degree affecting religious opinion and conduct. This seems to be distinctly disavowed. Durell observes in recommendation of a new version, that “the minds of the people cannot hereby be *unsettled*. *All* the leading articles of religion will remain *undisturbed*; neither will *the ground of their faith or practice* be ever *so remotely affected*.”‡ Kennicott in his “*Dissertatio Generalis*” thus expresses himself: “*Quidni itaque et nunc etiam boni omnes faverent si hodiernam nostram versionem in melius, recudi viderint? Sunt certe, et ii magni nominis viri qui versionem impense flagitant perfectiorem; quorum tamen nemo non fatebitur, in ea, quam nunc habemus, versione satis omnino integritatis esse, ut de credendi et agendi norma liquido constant omnia.*”§ A similar avowal is made by Blayney, who hesitates not to admit, that “neither the errors, which have crept into the original text, nor those, which deform the translation, have fallen upon any essential points either of doctrine or of morals.”|| And subsequently he remarks, as Durell had done before him, that by the application for a new version, “no *innovation* in religion is intended, *not any the least alteration in the grounds of our faith and practice.*”¶

\* Remarks, Introd. p. 6.

‡ Critical Remarks, Preface, p. 9.

|| Prelim. Disc. to Jeremiah.

† Historical View, p. 189.

§ Sect. 8.

¶ Page xi.

When imperfections therefore are imputed to our established translation, these imperfections must be understood to consist, not in *theological*, but simply in *philological*, inaccuracies. And it is only upon a scale of this kind that we are to estimate the importance attached to them. The *absolute necessity* then of the proposed measure being wholly out of the question, and the *great expediency* of it resting upon such a basis, have not our rulers always acted with wisdom and discretion in resisting the headstrong torrent of literary opinion, and in not suffering themselves to be borne down by its impetuosity? They have been indeed repeatedly told, that our established translation was taken from an incorrect, or, as the fashionable phrase of the critic is, corrupt text, and that it abounds with philological errors; but they were at the same time assured that those errors involve no essential point of faith or morals. And what confidence had they in the stability of the new criticism? Or what reliance could be placed on the individual exertion of those critical powers to which they were to look for the emendation as well of the text as of the translation? Specimens of the supposed improvements have, it is true, been long abroad; but have these proved satisfactory in themselves, particularly as to their general result, or have they challenged universal concurrence? Might not another race of more scrupulous critics arise, who, contemplating the licentious innovations of their predecessors with equal astonishment and disapprobation, might choose again to adopt a more sober line of criticism, and make it necessary to undo much, if not all, of that which had been so recently done? Other reflections, I doubt not, of greater force, suggested themselves to prevent the prudent hand of power from intermeddling in an enterprise, where the object in view seemed not worth the perplexity and danger of the pursuit; where there was much to lose, but little to gain. Howsoever that might have



been, we may certainly conclude, that no trivial motives could have occasioned the total rejection of a proposal so earnestly pressed upon the attention of government by men of high character, rank, and talent. Indeed the plain policy of the question must have always been something more than problematical; for surely were the project adopted of revising a translation of the Bible, the general excellence of which is on all sides admitted, and to which the nation has been accustomed for full two centuries past to look up with veneration, not solely for the purpose of verbal corrections, but also for the purpose of introducing in some places novel senses, in others senses diametrically opposite to the former, and that without a possibility of explaining to the common reader the principles of the change, might not such a proceeding shake the very foundation of public confidence altogether?

But let us argue the question of expediency upon another ground, and see if any thing like a plausible case has been made out in support of it. The advocates for a new translation say, that the present one is taken from a *bad text*, and is itself replete with philological inaccuracies. This they indeed assert; but has this assertion been proved? Certainly not. The very basis of the whole argument has solely rested upon the ground of *mere assumption*.

Much has indeed been written upon the discordance between the printed Hebrew Bible, and Hebrew Manuscripts; and we know, that the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi point out the passages, in which that discordance exists. The first step therefore towards the formation of an amended text must be a critical arrangement and application of these materials. But has any thing of the kind been yet attempted? Dr. Blayney indeed long since proposed that a select committee of divines should be appointed by government “to examine into the state of the Hebrew text, and to restore it as nearly as possible to its

*primitive purity.*”\* But it may be well questioned, whether such a step would have been either desirable or effectual? If the talents of those, who might have been appointed to the task, had been in the highest degree respectable, as I doubt not they would have been, still I fear that the critical world would have looked with an eye of suspicion, if not of distrust, upon the labours of a committee thus constituted. Had a committee of the kind alluded to taken place, it would of course have been selected from the most eminent scholars of the day; from men like Lowth, Pilkington Durell, Kennicott, Blayney, &c. who had distinguished themselves in Hebrew literature, and who had already individually laboured in their various publications “to restore the Hebrew text as nearly as possible to its primitive purity.” But how would they have attempted to effect this object? The whole tenor of their respective writings demonstrate, that it would have been by the aid of an *arbitrary criticism*. The restoration of the Hebrew text to its primitive purity was the point, which in all their publications they kept constantly in view; and this they endeavoured to restore by exchanging the received readings for others, which they selected at pleasure, without any certain clue of discrimination, from the mass of manuscript collations furnished by Kennicott, sometimes preferring the reading of a single manuscript, sometimes that of more, and generally one sanctioned by the authority of a MS. or MSS. supposed† to be *ancient*.

\* Preface to Jeremiah, p. ix.

† The *most ancient* MS. collated is No. I. Bodl. which in Kennicott’s judgment is as old as about the middle of the *tenth* century, and which is written in the *Spanish* character. But De Rossi forms a different opinion of its antiquity, referring it to the *twelfth* century. Ob Keri, quod habet, et lineas Masoræ destinatas, videatur certe *recentior et ad xii. seculum* referendus. Vol. i. p. lix. And Bruns decides its character to be not *Spanish* but *Italic*. Hispanicum esse characterem hujus codicis *nego et pernego*. Italicus, quem Kennic. intermedium vocat, esse videtur. Dissert. Generalis Kennic. Ed. Bruns, p. 339. What certainty on such points can we have, when critics of eminence so widely differ in opinion from each other.

They also endeavoured to restore it by correcting it in conformity with readings deduced at will from the ancient versions ; “ A true text,” says Lowth, “ as far as it is possible to recover it, is to be gathered from the manuscripts now extant, and from the evidence furnished by the ancient versions of the readings of manuscripts of much earlier times.”\* Nor is this all ; for they took the liberty, particularly Bishop Lowth himself, not only of transposing, but sometimes of altering the Hebrew letters, so as to superinduce a change of sense in the passage. Thus he remarks, “ a change of one of the similar letters for the other, when *it remarkably clears up the sense*, may be *fairly allowed to criticism*, even *without any other authority than that of the context* to support it.”†

Upon such principles then we may conclude, that their restoration of the text would have been conducted. But could a restoration of this kind have proved satisfactory ? It might indeed have pleased for a short period ; but after the labours of Griesbach in the text of the New Testament, we may be sure that no more modern critic would have approved of any application of manuscript collations, *unarranged, and unclassified*. With respect likewise to the versions, the immensity of various readings in the Septuagint alone which have since been collected, sufficiently evince, that, before we attempt to correct the original text by them, they themselves must be corrected. And as to the liberty of transposing and changing similar letters in the words of the text, by way of clearing the sense of the context, who would now become an advocate for it ? Indeed even those, who were ambitious of seizing this slippery rule of criticism, as it twisted and glided before them, soon found, that it constantly eluded their grasp, and began to abandon the pursuit of it.

I contend therefore, that no case has yet been made out sufficiently strong to warrant the public appointment of

\* Isaiah, Introduction, p. 57.

† Ibid. p. 51.

a committee to undertake a new translation of the Bible upon an improved text. It was surely incumbent upon those, who so zealously recommended the measure, to point out where this improved text was to be found, to realize their own dreams respecting it, and not to make government a party in pursuing the mere phantom of their own imagination. To have appointed a committee for this purpose, which must have been deficient in the means of executing the trust reposed in it, would have been little better than an attempt to revive the tyranny of the ancient Egyptian taskmasters. When biblical critics *are agreed* upon the formation of an improved text, it will then, I apprehend, be time enough to take the public adoption of that text into consideration.

But what have been, and what still are, considered by the advocates of the measure, as adequate materials for the emendation in view? The answer is obvious; *the collations and the versions*. Although, therefore, I maintain, that these materials should have been applied to some effectual purpose, so as to have uniformly produced an amended text, if that were possible, *before* the subject was at all pressed upon the attention of government, I nevertheless admit, as I have already remarked, that many ingenious specimens, of what it was supposed might be done in this way, were furnished by individuals of learning and ability in their notes upon detached parts of Scripture. Their efforts however, in the judgment of foreign, and therefore the most impartial, critics, completely failed of success; more, I am persuaded, from a defect of materials, than from a defect of talent.

When the *collations of Kennicott* appeared, they seem to have disappointed public expectation, particularly on the continent. The following is the statement of Baver upon this point in his "Critica Sacra;" Magna, qua animi tenebantur, expectatio fallebatur, et quidem vel ideo, quia æquo majus quid omnes speraverant. Et quo magis antea

bonus Kennicottus collaudabatur, eo plus nunc vituperabatur, idque ex parte immerito, ex parte autem merito suo. Cum enim plures animadverterent, farraginem variantium lectionum quidem innumeram esse, *longe plurimas vero apertos esse lapsus scriptorios, paucas* reperiri notatu dignas, quæ *in textu emendando* verum auxilium præsentent; Kennicotto stomachabantur, in eumque *immeritam* culpam transtulerunt, quasi plura et meliora dare potuisset, quam in codicibus suis invenerat. Hoc vero *jure* illi ab aliis in arte critica exercitatissimis, et ingenii ac doctrinæ laude insignibus viris exprobatum est, *quod quandoque dormitaverit*, et in excerptis variis lectionibus quarum inñitiam copiam ante oculos habuit, *non semper satis diligens fuerit*, et quod in dissertatione generali *non præstiterit. quod a bono critico expectari poterat.*\* He then refers in corroboration of his statement to the criticisms of Michaelis and Eichhorn.

The collations of Kennicott were soon followed by those of De Rossi, which are deemed equally deficient in readings of importance. Thus Baver remarks; *Varie lectiones, in codice V. T. ortæ sunt ex usu matrum lectionis, qui a libroriorum arbitrio dependebat. Inde factum est, ut codices, si ad litteras ̄ et ʹ otiantes spectes, tantopere inter se discrepent, ut maxima variarum lectionum a Kennicotto et De Rossi collectarum pars in vocibus plene vel defective scriptis consistat.*† Again speaking of both, he says, *Scimus maximam variantium lectionum farraginem esse vitia calami a librariis commissa; longe majorem earum partem in matribus lectionis, sc. defective et plene scriptis, consistere, quæ arbitrio scribarum relicta fuerunt.*‡

But of whatsoever description the reading contained in the respective collations may appear to be, certain it is, that no attempt has ever been made to *classify* them.

\* Prolegomena, p. 20, 21.

† Critica Sacra, p. 175.

‡ Page 423.



Nor indeed does a classification upon the plan of Griesbach, so as to arrange them under *different editions*, seem possible ; because they all appear to belong *to one and the same* edition, viz. to the Masoretical. Upon this point Baver makes the following observation : Omnes codices Hebraici V. T. quotquot sunt, sequuntur unam eandemque recensionem, *Masoreticam* nimirum, ad ejusque exemplum arctissime adstricti sunt. Hoc non Masorethæ quidem efficere potuerunt, ut omnes Masoræ contrarias lectiones antiquavissent atque delessent. Rara in singulis codicibus superest lectio Antemasorethica, sicuti excussis olivis Baccha, aut post vindemiam uva solitaria. *Falsa* itaque, quam fecerunt, divisio codicum est in *Masorethicos*, et *Antemasorethicos* ; quos posteriores, si sensu strictiori tales intelligis, *nullibi inveniri*, experientia edocti sumus. Superfluum igitur quodammodo esse videtur, sollicite in familiis codicum inquirere, *quos omnes e Masoretharum recensione profluxisse* constat.\* Again : Scimus, non codices *Antemasorethicos* superesse, sed omnes, quotquot in Bibliothecarum angulis latent, aut in Judæorum manibus versantur, codices ad Masoretharum decreta esse conformatos.†

It seems then, that a classification of Hebrew manuscripts under various editions is wholly impracticable. I do not indeed deny, that some sort of classification may be effected, so as to rank those, which have been transcribed from a superior, above those, which have been transcribed from an inferior, copy of the same edition ; and thus to reduce into something like order the present chaotic mass of readings ; but even this classification, such as it is, has been never yet accomplished, or even attempted. And, until it is, where can be the propriety of bringing these collations forward in any way for the effectual emendation of the text ?

But if little assistance for this desirable purpose be af-

\* Page 396.

† Page 403.

forded by the collations of MSS. the ancient versions, it may be said, amply supply the deficiency. This, however, I by no means admit; for, with the exception perhaps of the Septuagint, they also appear to have been taken from the very same edition as the manuscripts, I mean from the *Masoretical*. So early as in the year 1784, Eichorn wrote a preface to the second part of the "*Nova Bibliotheca Hebræa*" of Kocher, in which he maintains the position I have asserted, with arguments which I have never seen confuted. Upon this point he expresses himself thus decidedly: Quod ad versiones quidem antiquas attinet, cum eæ jam *solutiores* decurrant, jam verborum sint tenaciores, nec interpretes antiqui scriptam sibi alibi legem ubique tam sancte servaverint, ut nihil, ne particulam, ne suffixum quidem, textui sacro, inter vertendum intruderent, cum potius *de suo* talia multa adderent, et in subita v. c. personarum et numeri permutatione, scriptoribus Hebræis valde familiari et frequenti, suæ linguæ ingenium sequi deberent, et ad id genus alia multa ducerentur: hæc textus Masorethici cum interpretibus antiquis eum in finem instituenda comparatio, ut quomodo conspirare et differre dicendi sint appareat, res est, quæ magna et intentiore cura indiget. Si enim omnem, quæ inter comparandum prodere se videtur, lectionis varietatem tanquam veram et genuinam admittere velles, posses scriptorem quemlibet sacrum ita interpolatione diffingere et alium reddere, *ut ex vetere novus, ex corrupto corruptissimus evaderet*. Si vero a locis his dubiis et incertis discesseris, in lectione vulgari cum libris Masorethicis ita vel conspirant, vel ab iis discrepant interpretes antiqui, *ut eandem prorsus textus Biblici recensionem ante oculos habuisse necesse sit, quam tum in Masora, tum in libris, qui ex eodem fonte fluere, codicis sacri scriptis servatam cernimus*. Et primum quidem vix unam et alteram lectionem *Masorethicam* satis fundatam, idoneisque libris suffultam, offendi arbitror, *quæ interpretum veterum suffragiis*

*non item confirmetur.* Deinde in vitiis adeo apertis, corruptelis, puta lacunis, hiatibus, atque etiam interpolationibus, vel prorsus conspirant cum Masorethis, vel in varias partes discedunt, ut adeo probabile fiat, *eadem quidem menda suis etiam apographis insedissee*, sed interpretum quemlibet *pro ingenii sui modulo* in emendandis sollicitandisque locis affectis desudasse.\*

As therefore the Masoretical text, and that from which all the versions, except perhaps the Greek of the Seventy, were derived, appear to have constituted, what critics would call, *one and the same edition*; the advantages afforded by the versions in the proposed emendation can be but trivial; the readings on both sides, although more or less diverted in their progress, having all originally flowed from the same source. But an exception is made in favour of the Septuagint. May not that alone therefore, it may be asked, be of the most important consideration, as having been probably taken from an edition of the Hebrew text different from the Masoretical? A better answer to this question cannot be given than in the words of Eichhorn; Jam si quæritur, quæ, ante Christum natum, a Bibliotheca sacra instituta fata ejus fuerint, et quas vicissitudines subierit, omnia sunt multo obscuriora tantisque tenebris involuta, ut *ea silentio præterire fere præstet quam in campum tam lubricum descendere.* Dicam tamen breviter, quæ mihi verisimilia videntur. *Posset* quidem Græca LXX interpretum versio fundamenti loco poni, cui de textus biblici, ducentis ante Christum annis, conditione disputatio superstruatur. Ut cum illa temporis injuria tam male habita sit, eaque jam seculo post Christum natum tertio sugillata, et suffusa tot livoribus et ulceribus a librariis et criticis audaculis esset, ut Origenes interpretem sæpe in interprete quæreret; nec ea post Origenis medellam meliora fata experta fuerit: *sane lacunam hanc luto-*

*sam* præstat præterire, quam *textus Hebraici multo limpidiorem*, quem Historia testatur, *fontem rivulis lutosis turbidum reddere*. Quid enim ab interpretum manibus profectum sit raro exsculpi potest ; nec ad quæstionem nostram enodandam facit id, de quo sæpius ac melius constat, quas Origenes vel librariorum aberrationes vel criticorum male sedulorum interpretamenta et emblemata damnaverit, quidve alibi inseruerit textui, ut lacunas suppleret, et id genus multa. Qui igitur de fide, qua ab Esra, sive a condita inde Bibliotheca sacra, textus Biblicus propagatus sit, *certi* aliquid statuere velit ; *lectionum ad Masorethas transmissarum ingenii ac naturæ rationem habeat necesse est*.\*

In the judgment therefore of Eichhorn it is much better to neglect altogether what he terms *the muddy ditch* of the Septuagint, than to render turbid with it the more limpid fountain of the Masoretical text.

Nor does he hold the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, which has been so extravagantly extolled by some critics, in much higher estimation. This indeed is no version ; but it is usually considered as affording a strong corroboration to the readings found in some of the versions, particularly in the Septuagint. Of the boasted Samaritan, however, upon a comparison with the Masoretical text, the same distinguished critic speaks thus contemptuously : *Nec possumus Masoretharum fidem, ac religionem, an superstitionem dicam ? majori in luce collocari, quam comparatione editionis Masorethicæ cum Samaritana instituta, quarum posterior tot scatet aberrationibus, interpolationibus, ac jejunis unius seu plurimum criticastrorum emblematis, ut vix vicesima earum lectionum pars, in quibus a libris Judaicis discedit, aliquam veritatis speciem præ se ferat*.† And this censure he substantiates by a variety of examples taken out of the first and second chapters of Genesis.

But I would also here remark, as I have done in the

\* Ibid. p. 7, 8.

† Ibid. p. 6.

instance of the MS. collations, that something like a critical collection and discrimination of their respective readings, something like a digest and arrangement of their concordant and discordant testimonies, should have been attempted, before the practicability of the measure proposed upon principles necessarily involving these points had been presumed. And to have effected even this, would not previous collations of the versions themselves have been necessary ?

The advocates however for a corrected text and a new translation seem to have thought, that much might be done towards the accomplishment of the object before them without either a classification of manuscripts, or a verification, as well as an arrangement, of the readings, furnished by the versions. They imagined, that both these rich mines of emendation, without the laborious process of extracting the ore from its matrix, yielded an abundant treasure adapted to immediate use. On this fairy ground they trod ; and, attempting to reduce upon a small scale their theory into practice, exhibited, it must be confessed, much brilliant conjecture, but little solid criticism. Upon the point, however, of their failure in this attempt it may be proper to be a little more particular.

In proof then that the general principle of their criticism, together with their efforts in its exemplification, was unsatisfactory and fallacious, I shall first quote the statement of Baver, a critic by no means indisposed to novelty of opinion, and therefore the least exceptionable judge. Arguing that the Masoretical text, although like all the productions of antiquity, it must have suffered from the ignorance and inattention of transcribers, has nevertheless better preserved its integrity than any other ancient text, sacred or profane, he goes on to show, that his opinion is confirmed by the fate of their unavailing labours, who wrote in corroboration of the contrary position. He says, *Deinde enim id me in sententia mea firmat, quod maxima*



pars emendationum criticarum, quas viri docti attulerunt aut finxerunt, a criticis modestioribus, et linguæ Hebraicæ analogiæ peritioribus, *jam jure reprobatur, et ut non necessaria et vana repudiatur. Non longum est tempus, cum omnes, qui novum quid tentare voluerunt, pro seculi genio vires ingenii in corrigendo textu V. T. exercuerunt. Sed quot numerantur emendationes a criticorum duce audacissimo, Houbigantio Francogallo, Kennicotto, Reiskio, Lowthio, ipsoque Michaele, ut alios minus celebres viros nunc silentio transeam, oblata et commendata, re attentius perpensa, rationibusque in utraque lance ponderatis, hodie adhuc plausum omnium communem ferunt? Jamjam docti litterarum sacrarum interpretes agnoscere incipiunt, ab utraque parte esse peccatum, et ab iis, qui sinceritatem Cod. Heb. nimis magnis laudibus extollebant, et ab illis, qui nimium deprimebant; caute esse versandum in crisi, et non statim de corruptione esse conquerendum, priusquam idiotismorum Hebraicorum rationes probe cognoverimus. Sic multitudo emendationum, quarum tam ferax fuit seculum nostrum, oblivioni traditur, et vix paucæ manebunt doctissimorum interpretum assensu comprobata.\**

In conformity also with the statement of Baver is the censure of Eichorn upon the criticisms of those, who have vainly endeavoured to amend the Masoretical text by the versions. Pauci, he remarks, certe textui biblico vulnera esse altius inflicta videbant, quam ut vel interpretum veterum ope sanari possent. Jam cum tamen ex illis ei vellet medicinam parare, non potuerunt non eo delabi, ut sæpius *conjecturas interpretum magis, quam veram olim e codicibus exhibitam lectionem* sequerentur: nec quid *vere scriptum fuerit, sed quid scribi potuerit* invenirent, ut *elegantiora, exquisitora, acutiora, forsitan veriora etiam, verba* in vulgarem locum substituerent,

\* Critica Sacra, p. 167.

*scriptoremque adeo ipsum potius quam librariorum lapsus corrigerent.\**

In the judgment therefore of more modern and less adventurous critics, the efforts of those, who thus attempted to improve the text, have only tended to corrupt it; and must consequently have retarded, instead of having promoted, the great object in their contemplation. The bold project of applying critical conjecture without control, or, as it was presumed to be, of restoring its lost lustre, to the word of God, attracted indeed general admiration; and afforded scope for the exertion of elegant taste and of extensive erudition. But although the meteor arose in splendor, it blazed only for a short period; and if it be not already, will perhaps be soon forgotten.

\* Præfat. in Kocheri Nov. Bib. Heb. p. 2.

## CHAP. IV.

*Lowth's translation of Isaiah. Animadversions upon it. Censured by Kocher. Specimens of erroneous criticisms in it. Isaiah Chap. i. 3, Chap. i. 29, Chap. ii. 20, Chap. viii. 9, Chap. xxiv. 11. Kocher as superior in Philological acquirements, as inferior in classical taste. Lowth and his followers men of indisputable learning and ability.*

FROM a review of the general principles of criticism adopted by the advocates for a new version, I proceed to give a specimen of the mode in which they were desirous of amending the sacred text. This I shall take from the most celebrated production of the day, Bishop Lowth's translation of Isaiah.

When the translation alluded to first appeared, and even while it was rising into credit and reputation in our own country, foreign writers began to be startled by the unbridled boldness and temerity of its numerous emendations. Nor was it long before a direct attack was made upon it in a work entitled, "*Vindiciæ S. Textus Hebræi Esaïæ Vatis, adversus D. Roberti Lowthi, Ven. Episc. Lond. criticam. A Dav. Kochero V. T. et Ling. Orient. Professore. Bernæ 1786.*" So rapid was the effect produced by the publication of Kocher, that in the year 1795 we find Baver recording this unqualified condemnation of the criticisms, which had occasioned it: *Lowthius, Episcopus Londinensis, id imprimis egit, ut Jesaïæ textum curis criticis recenseret, et non paucas, ut sibi visum est, emendationes proposuit. Sed maximam illarum partem haud necessariam, inutilem, imo falsam esse, omnes fere interpretationis bonæ periti concedent.\** From this *Vindiciæ*

\* *Critica Sacra*, p. 452.

then of Kocher I shall select one or two of the many judicious remarks, with which it abounds, in confutation of the Bishop's amended text.

In Isaiah i. 3. our authorized version thus literally renders the Hebrew ; “ Israel doth not know ; my people doth not consider.” This is translated by Lowth in the following manner ; “ Israel doth not know *me* ; neither doth my people consider.” The reason for the addition of the word *me*, is thus given in the notes. [*Me*—] The same ancient versions [that is, the LXX, *Syriac*, *Acquila*, *Theodotion*, and the *Vulgate*] agree in adding this word ; which very properly answers, and indeed is almost necessarily required to answer, the words *possessor* and *Lord* preceding. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ME οὐκ ἔγνω. LXX. Israel autem *me* non cognovit. Vulg. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ MOY οὐκ ἔγνω. Aq. Theod. The testimony of so scrupulous an interpreter as *Acquila* is of great weight in this case. And both his and *Theodotion's* rendering is such, as shews plainly, that they did not add the word MOY to help out the sense, for it only embarrasses it. It also clearly determines, what was the original reading in the old copies, from which they translated. It could not be ידעני, which most obviously answers to the version of the LXX and *Vulgate*, for it does not accord with that of *Acquila* and *Theodotion*. The version of these latter interpreters, however injudicious, clearly ascertains both the phrase and the order of the words of the original Hebrew ; it was וישראל אותי לא ידע. The word אותי has been lost out of the text. The very same phrase is used by *Jeremiah*, chap. iv. 22. עמי אותי לא ידעו ; and the order of the words must have been as above represented ; for they have joined ישראל with אותי, as *in regimine* : they could not have taken it in this sense, *Israel meus non cognovit*, had either this phrase or the order of the words been different. I have endeavoured to set this matter in a clear light, as it is the first example of a whole word being lost out of

*the text* ; of which the reader will find many other plain examples in the course of these notes."

In this criticism a little inaccuracy occurs at the very outset ; because the *Syriac*, one of the versions referred to as *adding* the word *me*, indisputably *omits* it, in perfect conformity with the Hebrew. This however I allow does not materially affect the drift of the argument. But let us turn to the remarks of Kocher. After having stated the Bishop's position and reasoning upon it, he thus proceeds. Nunc videamus argumenta in partem alteram. Ac primum quidem non unum hodie sed geminum με LXX habent, hoc modo : Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ συνῆκεν. Ergo suo in codice bis LXX יְהוָה legisse dixeris ? an semel ? Profecto ego ne semel quidem ; nam prius per *ellipsisin* dictum existimantes supplere, ut nonnulli etiam recentiorum, recepto Interpretum more : in posteriori ne cæcus quidem erraturus fuisse videatur, ut verisimillimum sit, illos et מֵי legisse, et per ὁ λαός μου vertisse, dein librorum incuria vitium irrepsisse, errore facili quod eadem vocula με præcesserit ; idque factum mature, ob illa Hieronymi verba : " Pro quo soli LXX transtulerunt ; *Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus me non intellexit.*" Atque prius *me* Vulgatus quoque habet, eadem plane ratione et causa, sive suo usus judicio, sive LXX. ut solet, secutus. Quod autem ad Aquilam et Theodotionem attinet, ad notissimum יְהוָה, si tamen, ut ponitur, affuit, sic eos hæerere potuisse censeam, ut pro evidente proboque accusativo incongruentem genitivum adhibere maluerint ? quare non dubito, quin suum μου non ad Ἰσραὴλ, sed sequens λαός addiderint, quo et pertinet, et manifeste in *Bosii* Bibliis Græcis refertur. Confer Aldi editionem, et var. lect. Polygl. Lond. tomo VI, et inconsiderantiæ peccatum, opinor, intelliges. Præterea testem pro me appello Hieronymum, absque supplemento sic vertentem : " *Israel non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit ;*" item *Syrum* appello, *codicumque fidem*. Verum super-



est reliquis argumentis potentius verbum ירע *absolute usurpatum significantius simul et elegantius esse, hoc modo ; Israel nihil novit, populus meus nihil intelligit.*” En exempla apud nostrum Esaiam lvi. 10, item xlv. 17; Jobi viii. 9; et Ps. lxxxii. 5; לא ירעו ולא יבין “*nihil norunt, nec quicquam intelligunt*” advertuntve ; en eadem verba, ac in loco nostro, et utrumque *absolute* peræque usurpata. Hoc si attendissent veteresque et recentiores, inutili, opinor, censura abstinuissent. Nonne in ipso ominosum offendisse limine, si tamen hic, ut autumo, B. Lowthus falsus est?

What then is the amount of this proposed emendation? Why, a new word it seems is to be added to the Hebrew text without the evidence of a single manuscript in its favour ; because it is found in the Septuagint and Vulgate, and something like it in the Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion. Surely such loose criticism can never be presumed to rest on a solid basis ; particularly when it is considered, that the translators of the Septuagint and Vulgate, as Kocher remarks, appear to have used the word merely in order to supply the supposed ellipsis of an accusative case after the verb ירע ; although indeed that verb elsewhere occurs in an absolute sense, without an ellipsis of the kind alluded to, and consequently occurs here without the necessity of any elliptical construction whatsoever.

Another instance of misapplied emendation may be quoted from the translation of the 29th verse of the same chapter. The Hebrew reads as in the English version, “*They shall be ashamed of the oaks, which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens, that ye have chosen.*” To avoid this confusion of persons, Lowth converts the *third* person plural *they* into the second person *ye* ; and gives the following note upon it : “*For ye shall be ashamed]* תבושו *in the second person, Vulg. Chald. two MSS. and one Edition ; and in agreement*

with the rest of the sentence." The object of this note is to substitute the reading of תבשו "ye shall be ashamed," for that of יבשו "they shall be ashamed," upon the authority of the *Vulgate*, *Chuldee*, and two *MSS.* as well as of *one Edition*. But Kocher on the other hand more correctly contends, that the *intermixture* of personal pronouns, applicable to one and the same individual or individuals, is so far from being unusual in Hebrew, that it is esteemed *an elegance*; and that in the very verse under consideration, the translators of different versions render the persons of the verbs contained in it variously, deviating from the strict letter of the text at pleasure. His words are: Idne adsuetis prophetarum lectioni insuetum, personas sic quam sæpissime et de industria mutari; interpretes autem illam sibi insolentiam, quæ Hebræis usu frequenti in elegantiam verterat, ad suarum linguarum indolem, plus minusve, nec raro flectere? Igitur *Chaldæus* quatuor illa verba persona *secunda*, LXX, *Syrus*, et *Arabs* omnia peræque *tertiu* exprimunt: atque *Vulgatus* denique *priori* quidem membro *tertium*, *posteriori* vero *secundam* personam maluit. Equis non sentit, quid sibi sic vertendo voluerint? Itaque res tædii plena, Episcopum per totum librum suam obtinere pertinaciam, semper personas permutare velle, me autem castigare. Quare hoc sit pro specimine, ut censura plerumque supersedere deinceps liceat. Interim *ad codices* hic provoco, apud animumque perpendere suadeo, quam difficile se sustentaturum illud יבשו fuerit, si tamen fuisset pravum.

But slender as the authority is, upon which this emendation is proposed to be made, it is singular, that of the two versions, to which Lowth refers, viz. the *Vulgate* and the *Chaldee*, one of them, the *Vulgate*, adopts a rendering which makes directly against him, translating the disputed verb, not in the *second* person, *ye*, as stated by him, but in the *third* person, *they*, as in the Hebrew,

“*they* shall be ashamed ;” *Confundentur* enim ab idolis. Elegance of taste and refinement of talent may indeed despise the toil of long and painful research for points of apparently trivial importance in themselves; but criticism cannot exist without accuracy of investigation and fidelity of statement.

In corroboration also of Kocher’s remark, respecting the frequent and designed intermixture of persons in the Hebrew text, I shall refer to Genes. xlix. 24, 25, 26; Deuteronomy xxxii. 15, 17; Micah ii. 3; Psalm xxii. 27; and Jeremiah xxix. 19; quoting only Deuteronomy xxxii. 15. Here the intermixture of persons, evidently however applied to one and the same, is thus correctly expressed in English; “But *Jeshurun* waxed fat and kicked: *thou* art waxen fat, *thou* art grown thick, *thou* art covered with fatness; then *he* forsook God, which made *him*, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation.” Such is the variety of expression adopted in the Hebrew text of this passage; a variety nevertheless which is by no means uniformly followed in the ancient versions. The Samaritan version indeed, as well as the Samaritan text, closely copies the Hebrew; but the others without scruple depart from it. Thus the Chaldee adopts throughout, the use of the *third* person only, without noticing the transition to the *second*, and thence to the *third* again. The same is the case with the Syriac, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. The Arabic, however, of the Polyglot has a singularity, which proves that its original possessed a transition from person to person, as in the Hebrew, but which its translator conceived would be best expressed by supplying a supposed ellipsis. It inserts therefore the words, “*when it was said to him*,” now thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, &c. I should nevertheless add, that the Arabic version of the Pentateuch published by Erpenius supplies no ellipsis of the kind, but is in perfect conformity with the Hebrew. These examples sufficiently

shew the liberty, in which on such occasions the authors of the ancient versions indulged, preserving wholly or in part the rough exterior of Hebrew idiom, or polishing it off, at pleasure.

The third instance, to which I shall allude, occurs in chap. ii. 20, where Lowth proposes the rejection of a pronoun with its prefix upon authority of the slightest description. "In that day a man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made *each one for himself* to worship, to the moles and to the bats." Here he translates, "which they have made to worship," leaving out the words "*each one for himself*;" and assigns the subsequent reason for it; "The word לִי *for himself* is omitted by an ancient MS. and is unnecessary. It does not appear, that any copy of LXX has it, except MS. Pachom. and MS. 1. D. 11, and they have εἰαυτοῖς ἑαυτοῖς plural." With this it seems only necessary to contrast the observation of Kocher. Per *distributionem* sive *partitionem* sic multi explicant, ut multa alia. Id an veteres intellexerint, atque ut argutius sequi noluerint, in dubio est. Ita variant interpretando, redduntque LXX. ἐποίησαν, sine pronomine, in vulgatis quidem exemplaribus, etsi apud sequacem Arabem pronomen *sibi* additum legitur, ut olim affuisse sit verisimile. Codex Alex, singulare ἐποίησεν habet; Vulgatus autem Hieronymusve, "quæ fecerat *sibi*;" atque Chaldæus Syrusque, "quæ fecerant *sibi*." pronomine, æque ac verbo pluralis numeri. Itaque ipsa illorum variatio nonne indicat idem atque nos legisse, sed pro suo quemque sensu, quod videbatur optimum, dare voluisse?

Nor does he often attend either to the number or the weight of his authorities; but is sometimes satisfied with that of the Septuagint alone. Thus in chap. viii. 9, where our version reads with the received Hebrew text, "*Associate yourselves, O ye people,*" he reads, "*Know ye this, O ye peoples,*" converting the letter ׀ into ׆. The fol-

lowing is the ground of this emendation, as expressed in a note. "The present reading רעו is subject to many difficulties; I follow that of the LXX. רעו γνωστέ. Archbishop Secker approves this reading, רעו *know ye this*, as parallel and synonymous to האזינו *give ear to it* in the next line." On the other hand, however, to the single support of the Septuagint, Kocher opposes the joint reading of the other versions; רעו עמים וחתו *consociamini populi, et consternamini*; congruenter phrasi וחתו התאזרו וחתו *accingimini et consternamini*. Estque רעו Pyhal ex Pihel רעה *associavit*, Jud. xiv. 20, atque bene Chald. אֶתְחַבְּרוּ *consociamini*; neque longe abest Vulg. *congregamini*. Sed et Syrus ר vidit, etsi cum aliis tanquam ex רעע interpretabatur. Quid igitur obsit *unius* Græci in Eisaia vertendo satis perspecta *levitas*, et ἀβλεψία? Kocher might have likewise added the testimony of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, all of whom read συναξροίσθησε.

But the genius of the critical school under consideration was of too aspiring a nature to be cramped in its flight by the mere readings of manuscripts and versions; it aimed at something higher, the restoration of the text by conjecture alone. From the many innovations of this description, with which the work of Lowth abounds, I shall select only one; but it is one, which shews, that an insatiable thirst for emendation sometimes prevailed over both his taste and his judgment. Instead of rendering the words ערבה כל־שמחה in chap. xxiv. 11, "*all joy is darkened*," according to the established version, he translates them, "*all gladness is passed away*;" which translation he grounds upon the following correction; "For ערבה read עברה *transposing a letter*. Houbigant. Secker." Upon this proposed transposition of the letters ר and ב Kocher remarks, that it is altogether unsupported as well by manuscripts, as by the versions. He then thus explains the meaning of the word as it appears



in the Hebrew text untransposed. Quid si verbi ערב ignoratio eruditus viris obfuit, cujus diversæ et latente origine disparatæ significationes leguntur? En verba Buxtorfii in lexico : ערב *miscuit, commiscuit*, unde ad varia transfertur : *negotiarum, spondere, fidejube, oppignrare; amœnum, suave, dulce esse; pertexere; advesperascere, obtenebrari, obscurari.*\*\*\*\* Nunc dispice, tenuene ac dilutum, idque per vim atque violenter arcessitum illud malis, “*transiit (עברה) omnis lætitia;*” an luminosum elegansque istud, “*occidit (ערבה) omnis lætitia, ut cum decedens sol tristibus cuncta tenebris mergit.* Surely the reading of the established version, “*All joy is darkened,*” is as well more elegant, as more correct, than his.

These are a few of the numerous defects pointed out in the criticisms of an accomplished Prelate, whose classical erudition, taste, and talents were probably as superior, as his philological acquirements in oriental literature were confessedly inferior, to those of his opponent. Kocher indeed seems to have had too high and inflexible an idea of, what is usually termed, the integrity of the sacred text; but Lowth had certainly too low and loose an opinion of it. From a perusal however of Kocher's tract, written in confutation of Lowth's criticisms, it is impossible not to admit the Bishop's failure in the attainment of the object which he had in view. Ignorant or regardless of grammatical minutiae, he sometimes misconceives a meaning, which a little more accurate investigation would have clearly pointed out to him; while at other times he substitutes a novel reading in a passage, where the common one, if correctly understood, would have given him the very sense, which he imputes to it. And, ever prone to display the fertility of his fancy, he adds, subtracts, transposes, and changes letters upon the slightest pretext of ideal incongruity, or upon the most unsubstantial proof of a better reading; nor does he scruple to mow down

with unsparing hand every obstacle which retards the facility of his progress. The critical world now seems united in condemning the greatest portion of his textual emendations as either unnecessary, injudicious, or erroneous.

After so full a notice of this first great reformer of the Hebrew text in our own country, it will not, I apprehend, be requisite to make any reflections upon the labours of those, who were engaged with him in the same arduous enterprise. Superstitiously pursuing his track, they all appeared to feel as if treading on hallowed ground. Where Lowth therefore failed, could they be now consulted, they would scarcely presume, that they had themselves succeeded. In nothing however, which I have said on this occasion, shall I be misunderstood, I trust, as ascribing to such writers as Lowth, Durell, Kennicott, Blayney, and Newcome, any deficiency either in learning or ability for the accomplishment of the undertaking, in which they were embarked ; their want of success should be imputed to a very different cause ; to the wild and unrestrained principles of criticism, which they adopted ; principles, more calculated to lead astray the fancy, than to inform the judgment ; to attract admiration by their ingenuity, than to enforce conviction by their solidity.

## CHAP. V.

*Received Hebrew or Masoretical text. More ancient than the Masora. Eichorn carries it up to the first century of the Christian era. Complete restoration of it desirable, could it be effected. Septuagint may have been translated from another edition. This by no means certain. Cappellus. Sharfenberg. Masoretical the only text to be depended upon. Question of vowels and accents as connected with that of the Masoretical text. Controversy respecting them. Perfection of the vowel system precludes the idea of its originality. The probable succedaneum of some more ancient system. Schultens. Vowels and accents no parts of the inspired text.*

FROM the preceding remarks it will appear, that the principal argument of the advocates for a new translation, grounded upon the presumption that the Hebrew text has been greatly improved since the period of the last translation, falls to the ground. If such an improved text really exists, where is it to be found? And to what quarter must we look for some producible proof of its existence? Certainly not to the ingenious, but loose lucubrations of the school, to which they were themselves attached, and the credit of which they ineffectually laboured to establish and extend.

I do not however mean to say, that writers, whose erudition I respect, and whose talents I admire, have always reasoned inconclusively; but that the line of criticism, which they adopted, was incorrect. Much less do I contend, that the Hebrew text has not, like all other ancient productions, suffered from the ignorance and inattention of transcribers, or that they have never suggested any probable emendations of that text; but I maintain, that, be its state what it may, their suggestions, for its correc-

tion contain nothing like an approximation to the confidence inspired by genuine criticism. And further I maintain, as I have already remarked, that they should not have proposed a new translation from a projected text, before the readings of such text had been fully and satisfactorily settled.

The received Hebrew text is one of very high antiquity, and constitutes, what critics term, the only *edition* of the original text extant; for the Septuagint, as I have observed, if indeed translated from another and older edition of it, has nevertheless come down to us in too corrupted a state for accurate quotation. This text is usually denominated the Masoretical, because it is that which was used by the authors of the traditional remarks under the title of the *Masora*. But let us be careful not to confuse the antiquity of the edition itself with that of the *Masorets*,\* who laboured in their remarks upon it to inculcate a superstitious respect for it, as well as to preserve it inviolate. Upon this point I shall refer to the statement of Eichorn, who in the preface, previously alluded to, thus clearly establishes so necessary a distinction. Deinde, si antiquitatem textus spectes, quem Masora, ad eamque adornati codices Masorethici exhibent, nova ei accedit commendatio. Qua quidem in quæstione totius ejus habitus et conditionis in genere spectatæ ratio est habenda, non unius alteriusve lectionis (opus enim Masorethicum ipsum *diversis diversarum ætatum accessionibus*, at tamen, quantum æstimare licet, non locupletibus auctum esse novimus;) nec id quæritur, quo tempore observationes Masorethicæ in illud corpus collectæ fuerint, in quo ad nos pervenerunt, quod seculo sexto antiquius non esse satis constat; nec id nos sollicitos habere potest, quo tempore prima Masoræ scriptæ vestigia deprehendantur,

\* The Masorets were not only the acknowledged authors of the *Masora*, or traditional comment; but also the supposed inventors of vowels and accents, which they are stated to have added to the text.

quæ in opere Talmudico invenire in comperto est ; sed ad quam ætatem *textus ipse*, in genere spectatus, *quem Masorethæ excusserunt*, et *cujus lectiones in suos libellos transtulerunt*, universa item ejus ratio et conditio assurgat, in eo rei cardo versatur.\*

Eichorn was fully aware of the contempt, in which the Masoretical text was generally held at the period when he wrote. Quot, he says, quantisque cavillationibus a viris doctis acutisque textus Masorethicus noster sit vel ea, quam vivimus, ætate vellicatus, ut adeo parum abesset, quin in risum et contemptum adduceretur is, qui ad ejus laudem aliquid in medium affere, vel ejus causam contra iniquos ejus censores agere ausus fuerit, satis inter omnes constat.† Yet he scruples not to undertake the vindication both of its antiquity, and respectability. Nor does he withhold his assent from the importance of the despised Masora itself ; not the less important in his judgment for the absence of that acumen, which in modern times constitutes the merit of every critical production. Est enim opus, he justly remarks, criticis observationibus iisque ex *antiquissimis* codicibus ductis refertum, in quo textus biblicus e libris, qui Masorethis ad manus erant, *emendatissimis* recensetur, lectionis in iis animadversa varietas excutitur, lectiones pro spuriis habitæ damnantur, suspectæ notantur, atque de dubiis et incertis in utramque partem disputatur. Præterea tenua multa ac jejuna, quæ haud raro stomachum moveant, in ea contineri, quis neget? At re altius pensitata quis eadem non facile ferat?‡ Such he describes the Masora to be ; and subsequently argues, that from the simplicity of their critical code, and their dread of innovation, the Masorets have handed down to us an unadulterated and therefore invaluable text with the most scrupulous fidelity. Upon this subject he thus delivers his sentiments : Jam quidem

\* Page 3, 4.

† Page 2.

‡ Page 3.



nec ætas, qua orta est [viz. recensio Masorethica,] ferebat, nec ratio, qua condita est, eo deducebat, ut auctores, quas potissimum in textu constituendo secuti sint, leges testatas facerent; nunc autem et ejus indoles et lectionum in ea servatarum habitus satis docet, eos libros ex suo judicio *optimos*, et suo tempore *antiquissimos* adhibuisse. Nec verendum est, ne acumini suo plus quam æquum esset tribuerint, et ingenio proprio indulserint. *Obstabat huic novandi pruritu* et *superstitio* quæ de codice suo sacro eorum animos occupaverat, et *artis criticæ infantia*, in qua primum periculum faciebant. Quin *gratulemur* textui biblico, *tanquam singularem aliquam fortunam*, quod, qui de eo recensendo cogitarent Critici primi, *liberalius illud conjecturis emendandi genus non tentaverint*. Bene enim ac feliciter divinare, quid quovis loco aliquatenus suspecto auctor scripserit, res est *magnæ doctrinæ, et ingenii multis variisque litteris imbuti, acuminis longuæ exercitatione subacti, sagacitatisque haud vulgaris*. Sed quam futurum certo fuisset, ut id criseos genus ab Judæis male haberetur, argumento sunt pratim conjecturæ illæ parum felices, quas כְּבִירִין nominant, partim *Pentateuchus Samaritanus, multis sordibus coinquinatus*.\* He then digresses into that short but severe censure of the Samaritan text, which I have already quoted; after which he subjoins: Quæ cum ita sint, præter *antiquitatis, fidei, industriæ, et cautionis, qua constitutus fuerit, laudem*, accedit etiam textui Masorethico commendatio e scribarum Judæorum et editorum sacri codicis V. T. forsan ex superstitione potius, quam ex religione, profecta fide, qua illi codicem sacrum ad Masoræ leges per libros scriptos propagarunt, hi vero sub prelo excudi jusserunt.†

In the judgment therefore of Eichorn, the received Hebrew text has been derived from the most ancient and most correct copies, which could be procured at a very early

\* Page 6.

† Page 7.

period ; at a period certainly long anterior to the date of all existing Hebrew manuscripts ; and it has been faithfully transmitted to us unsophisticated by conjectural emendations. What its precise antiquity may be, he does not indeed, from a defect of data, undertake to determine ; but he clearly carries it up *to the first century of the Christian æra, ad primum Christianæ Epochæ seculum sua ætate ascendere.*\* This point he proves from a comparison of it with the version of Aquila, composed at the commencement of the second century. Quæ adhuc disputavimus, he observes, e nullo interprete possunt manifestius probari, quam ex Aquila, qui circa seculi secundi p. Ch. n. initia versionem V. T. *verborum tenacissimam* concinnavit, *quæ et vocus, et syllabulus Hebraicas omnes rimabatur.* Quotquot ejus supersunt fragmenta certa ac indubitata (multa enim spuria sub ejus nomine exhiberi satis constat,) ea omnia *tam presse sequuntur* textum nostrum Masorethicum, *vel in minutis ac minimis rebus, adeoque in aberrationibus manifestis, ut alterum ejus apographon videri possit.* Quis igitur dubitet, textui sacro tum eundem fuisse habitum eandemque formam, quam hodie pro se fert Masorethicus ; et qui post Aquilam eodem defuncti sunt labore, liberaliorem tamen rationem secuti, si a tramite Masorethico deflectere videntur, omnem dissensus causam vel in codicum suorum culpa sive vitiositate, vel in ipsorum vertendi ratione liberaliori esse quærendam.†

If a new translation then of the Bible were to be undertaken, what text could be followed more ancient, or more correct, than the received, or Masoretical? And this is the very text upon which our present translation was formed. May it not however, an objector may remark, although generally respectable, in particular places have suffered from repeated transcription, (to name no

\* Page 7.

† Page 5.

other cause or error,) during a long lapse of ages? A sufficient answer to this objection may be given in the words of Baver. *Quemadmodum non invitus largior, illum communi omnium librorum antiquorum sorte quoque non exemptum fuisse, sed passim incuria et oscitantia librariorum corruptum esse; ita talem ejus textus integritatem servatam esse existimo, qualem non facile in aliis libris vetustioribus reperies.\** But still it may be said, would it not be desirable to purify it from the aberrations of transcriptions, of what species soever those aberrations may be? Doubtless it would, and could not but prove a purification most devoutly to be wished. But how is such a purification to be effected? Certainly not by polluting this ancient text with emendations, collected from versions which were not only derived from copies of inferior authority, but have been so contaminated as to stand in need of a previous purification themselves; or by substituting other readings selected \*without discrimination from the motley mass of manuscript collations, as fancy or caprice may dictate. And indeed were their original purity to be restored to all the versions, except the Septuagint alone, and were the manuscript collations to be critically classed and arranged, circumstances, if not impossible, highly improbable at least, to take place, still would the whole weight of evidence deducible from both sources only serve to the amelioration of *a single Edition* of the Hebrew text.

I have remarked, that the Septuagint was probably translated from a copy of *another Edition*. This nevertheless seems far from being absolutely certain. Cappelus indeed in his *Critica Sacra* affirms that it was translated from a copy, containing as well a better and more ancient text than the Masoretical, as also one, which differed widely from that text; but we should recollect, that Cap-

\* *Critica Sacra*, p. 165

pellus wrote in support of a particular theory, to which such a concession would be of considerable importance. His Editor Scharfenberg however does not admit that the additions or omissions of the Septuagint necessarily prove it to have been translated from a copy very different from the Masoretical. *Admodum difficile* dictu est, he remarks, quæ vel omiserint vel addiderint interpretes Alexandrini, *propter librorum Hebraicorum*, quibus usi sunt, *varietatem*. Mihi quidem *non dubitandum esse* videtur, quin sicut additamenta, quæ Cappellus supra commemoravit, *maxima certe ex parte sint glossemata librariorum*, ita et lacunæ horum *negligentiæ* ortum debeant. Si vero concesserim, id quod sane concedi potest, in illis esse quædam ab auctoribus ipsis Vers. Alexandrinæ profecta, tamen hinc non efficitur ut hæc expressa sint e Codice Hebr. a nostro *multum discrepante*, immo quod propius vero est, inserta vel ex aliis locis Vet. Testamenti (cf. Gen. xxvi. 20, ubi quæ in Vers. Alexandrina leguntur, ducta sunt e 1 Chron. vii. 14, 20, 21.) vel e libris aliis, quam quos vulgo vocant *Canonicos*. cf. Gen. iv. 8. Eadem sedulitas Judæorum Alexandrinorum, quæ finxit libros Apocryphos, haud dubie auctor fuit additamentorum multorum, quæ jam extant in versione Alexandrina.\*

The sentiments of Scharfenberg upon the corrupt state of the Septuagint as well as upon the extreme difficulty of deciding from it, what were, and what are not, the actual readings of the Codex, from which it was translated, seem conformable with those of Eichorn already quoted. The conclusion then of Eichorn's argument upon the subject is this; that if we wish to determine any thing *certain* (certi aliquid statuere) respecting the fidelity, with which the text of the Bible has descended to us from the time of Ezra, that is, from its re-establishment after the Babylonian captivity, we must necessarily study the genius

\* Page 712. See also note 253, p. 659.

and character of the readings transmitted *to the Masorets*, and by them to us.

But here a question of considerable importance arises, respecting what is meant by the received or Masoretical text. Are we, it may be said, to understand by it the consonants alone of that text, or the vowels and accents in addition? I hesitate not to answer; Both the one and the other; so far at least as the *sense* of Scripture is affected by them. Not that I contend for the *originality* of vowels and accents, as constituent parts of the Hebrew text. I contend not for their *originality*; but solely for their *antiquity*.

Without entering into a controversy, which was formerly agitated with a severity of reflection on both sides seldom paralleled, which exercised the talents, and exhausted the charity† of the conflicting parties, I shall assume for fact, that the Masoretical system, *in the state in which it is delivered down to us*, was unknown to the writers of the Old Testament. This I apprehend is sufficiently apparent, independently of all other considerations, from the perfection of the system itself; from the variety of echaracteristical marks to distinguish vowel from

\* *Wasmuth* in his *Vindiciæ S. Hebrææ* thus expresses himself: At vero istius originalem authenticam et integritatem, *diris ac blasphemis criminationibus* (post *Cappellum, Waltonum*, et *asseclas*) longe ferocius adhuc proscindat licet *Vossius*, nec solum contradicentes ipsi (quamvis mitissime et summa modestia) viros doctissimos, pro *indoctis fungis, futuis et asinis* habeat; sed etiam post convictos toties ipsius *blasphemos errores* (reciprocatim jam pluries utriusque scriptis) jactare etiamnum audeat, si quis adhuc cum ipso contendere velit, *sive argumentis, sive testimoniis, se victurum argumentis, se victurum testimoniis*; scil. pro argumentis dando *bruta decreta*, pro testimoniis *fabulas*, p. 27. Saltem sperare id potuisse non minorem *Vossii stupiditatem* prodit, quam *fastum* et arrogantiam plane intolerabilem, p. 28. Miror quod *Ecclesia Belgica, blasphemam illam et monstrosam Dissert.* *Isaaci Vossii de Chron. S.* in publica luce toleret, merito *æternis tenebris dammandam*; ut qua originalis *S. Scripturæ* certitudo et authenticitas *funditus subruatur*, et sanctissima oracula de generatione Filii Dei, et morte *Messie*, tam *nefarie enervantur*, ut nisi *ad publicam palinodiam adactus fuerit auctor, et serio pœnituerit, vis: Deum sibi possit polliceri propitium.* p. 28.



vowel, and from the minute modification of pauses by accents. Besides accents seem in some cases solely to bear a reference to the *reading* of Scripture in the synagogues or in private families ; as when there are only two words under the immediate rule of *Silluk* or *Athnach*, that is, where there are only two words immediately preceeding a considerable pause ; for then they are separated by a *distinctive* accent instead of being united by a *conjunctive* one, without any regard to their grammatical connexion, in order that the sense of the passage may not be lost by a too rapid fall of the voice at the conclusion of a sentence. Improvements in language, particularly in the arbitrary power of letters, have always been progressive ; and surely the vowel system of the Hebrews bears internal evidence of a refinement, which could have scarcely belonged to the period, assigned to the latest production of the inspired writers. It exhibits a refinement unknown even to modern languages ; for, to say nothing of its peculiar punctuation of Gutturals, it not only has two distinct notations for two distinct sounds of the vowels A and E ; but it even marks by these the absence of a vowel, whether occasioned by the combination of two consonants without any intervening vowel, or by a consonant's terminating a syllable. And indeed every part of the system is so uniformly and inviolably preserved, that the authors of it appear rather to have completed some more ancient one, than to have invented one entirely new ; and to have theorized upon the invariable principles of a dead, than upon the capricious irregularities, of a living language. Complex and comprehensive systems of every description usually succeed those, which are more simple, and limited in their operation.

But if the refinement of the Masoretical systems proves, that it could not have been coæval with the inspired writings themselves, the same refinement also, as I have

observed, may be thought to prove the existence of some more ancient system, which has been superseded by it, and which is now forgotten. This I conceive to be highly probable. Schultens confidently asserts, that such was the case not only in the Hebrew, but likewise in other oriental languages. He says ; *Ejusdem artis puncta nec a Chaldaica, nec a Syriaca, nec ab Arabica lingua abfuisse tam mihi liquidum, quam liquet eos Consonantes habuisse, et mentem suam non tantum clare eloqui, sed et distincte enotare, ac consignare, inde a scriptura inventa, valuisse. Hoc qui negat, eodem jure scripturam iis denegat ; nisi eos velit tam rudes, ut literas cæcas ne punctulo quidem oculatas reddere sciverint, ubi absolutissima necessitas id flagitaret. Institut. ad fundamenta Ling. Heb. p. 63. Concludo tam certum Arabes et Aramæos, notulas habuisse sonorum ; quam certum eos scribendi artem possedisse : quamvis ultro largiar, non satis liquere, quænam fuerint hæ notulæ et figuræ. Ib. p. 64. Desino in prudenti et moderato judicio Cl. Hottingeri ibid. subnectentis ; Arabes, Syros, Chaldæos vocalium expressas semper notas habuisse, nullus dubito. Idem mihi persuasum de lingua Hebræa. Ib. p. 65. What Schultens remarks relative to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, is still more applicable to the Ethiopic, because this language from the peculiarity of its construction expresses seven distinct vowels by seven distinct forms of every consonant. Nor is the language known to have ever existed without this singular notation of vowels.\* And it should*

\* *Cosmas*, a writer of the sixth century, notices a Greek inscription upon a stone chair at *Adulis*. *Topog. Christiana* p. 143, Ed. Montfauc. It appears to have been written before, perhaps immediately before, the conversion of the Abyssinians to Christianity, which took place in the year of Christ 333. Mr. Salt in his *Travels into Abyssinia* gives a full and accurate account of another Greek inscription, which he found at *Axum*, apparently of the same date ; as also of a mutilated *Ethiopic* inscription, which he discovered on the reverse of the stone containing the Greek inscription. This likewise as far as he was able to trace it out he minutely describes, and gives a fac simile of the letters.

be added, that the most ancient division of the Hebrew vowels upon record is only into *seven*, precisely as in Ethiopic, viz. into the five usual vowels with the addition of a short A and a short E ; every subsequent division into *ten*, and even *fourteen* or *fifteen* having arisen from the little vanity of discovering in the Hebrew a more full and accurate notation to them, than in any other language.

But if we admit the probability, that another, although less perfect, vowel system existed before the adoption of the Masoretical, it may be thought, that by the introduction of the latter the signification of many words might have been materially affected. This however by no means follows. For the addition of new marks, either to denote the mere absence of vowels, a circumstance not before regarded, or to point out the differences in sound, but not in sense, of one and the same vowel, differences perhaps solely introduced by the caprice of pronunciation, (and it is not probable that the Masorets attempted any greater refinements,) cannot I apprehend have effected any essential alteration in the discriminate character of the vowel system. Thus in our own language, as in pronunciation we give three distinct sounds to the vowel A in the words, *Father*, *Fall*, and *Fable* ; so were we to invent two new characters for either of the two varying sounds, or to distinguish every combination of consonants by some peculiar mark, the nature and essence of our vowel system would notwithstanding surely remain unchanged. May we not therefore in the same manner conclude, that although the ancient notation of vowels in Hebrew was more simple than the Masoretical, yet was it not vague and uncertain ; and that when it was modified to a more accurate distinc-

Now from these it is evident, that the same distinction of vowels by a change in the form of the consonants, which exists now, existed likewise in the fourth century ; for there is no reason to suppose, that the Ethiopic is more modern than the Greek inscription, and indeed the mutilated state of its characters seem to prove that it is at least of equal antiquity.

tion of sound, it was not necessarily modified to a new distinction of sense?

Here however another question of the first importance to the enquiry before us arises, which is this: even granting that a sufficient notation of vowels for discriminating the various senses of words was not unknown antecedently to the Masoretical, what proof have we that such a notation was generally used, and always considered as a constituent part of the Hebrew text? This is a question, which has been much controverted. To assert however that the ancient manuscript copies of Scripture were *sometimes* transcribed without vowels, as may be inferred from the numerous errors of the Septuagint version, or even to assert that they were *often* transcribed without them, seems not sufficient to disprove their originality; for no synagogue copy of any part of the Bible has been ever transcribed with vowels to the present day, and few manuscript copies have been at any period transcribed with them in the first instance, the points having been subsequently added, and generally by a different person from the transcriber of the consonants. I nevertheless confess, that these circumstances, compared together, appear to me to militate, not indeed against the existence, but against the authority, of the vowel points. Under some form or other they might have existed, and have been applied for the purpose of correct reading; yet they might not have been considered as original parts of the sacred text. And that the latter was really the case, the total omission of them by the Jews in all copies transcribed for the use of the synagogue appears, I apprehend, fully to indicate.

The Jewish opinion then upon the point is clearly expressed by the universal and uniform practice alluded to. But ought Jewish opinion, it may be said, to be deemed conclusive? Might not the inspired writers have possessed a knowledge of some vowel system, and possessing that

knowledge would they have denied themselves its advantages? To the infallibility of Jewish opinion few, I conceive, are disposed to subscribe; but uninterrupted usage must surely have considerable weight in every decision. Nor do I see reason to conclude, that the inspired writers, when they published their respective compositions, were likely to differ from other writers in the mode of their publication. The autographs of Moses and the prophets, were they still extant, would, I doubt not, resemble the autographs of all who wrote in the same age and country. The only question appears to be; were books for public perusal then usually edited with vowels or without them? The most probable conjecture certainly favours a negative answer. Points, it is true, might have been known at the time, and have been frequently used for the purpose of correct instruction, to regulate the reading, and fix the sense, of an author; but it does not hence follow, that the autograph of the author himself, much less the apographs of subsequent transcribers, contained them. In this way it is, for instance, that the whole remains of Chaldee literature has been transmitted to us. The Jewish nation was not expelled from Chaldea, until full five centuries after the completion of the Talmud, that is, after the lowest date assigned for the invention of the Masoretical system. And we well know that every Chaldee manuscript extant, including those of the Targums and the Talmud, is posterior even to the period of that expulsion. Yet in no manuscript whatsoever have vowel points been ever added to the Chaldee consonants. Not because it was impossible to have added them; but because it was not customary, and because the task of transcription was less laborious without them.

On the other hand nevertheless, I admit, that as the different meanings of many words must have always depended upon the different vowels, with which they were pronounced, we might have supposed, that in doubtful cases



at least, had vowels been known, they would certainly have been used. A remarkable instance of this description occurs in Gen. xi. 3, where it is recorded of the builders of Babel, that "they had *slime* for *mortar*," והחמר היה להם לחמר. In this passage the word חֶמֶר, *slime* or *bitumen*, is evidently opposed to מֶחָרַת *mortar*; words which are broadly distinguished from each other in pronunciation, as well by the intervention of different vowels as by the circumstance of the accent being placed on different syllables. Could Moses, it may be remarked, have possibly written these words without the slightest distinction, so as to have said, "they had חֶמֶר for מֶחָרַת," had he possessed the means of making any such distinction? The only answer to be given to this question is one, which has been already noticed; viz. that he probably did on this what other writers were accustomed to do on a similar occasion. It should however be added, that whether he distinguished the words from each other in *writing*, as they must have been distinguished in pronunciation, or whether he wrote the consonants alone, leaving the reader himself to supply the respective vowels, no translator has ever mistaken his meaning. Indeed to those, who had been accustomed from their childhood to all the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, the context itself must have readily suggested the proper vowels and accents of the two nouns, which are here evidently contrasted with each other.

[To be concluded in the next number.]



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**MORUS**

ON THE

**Style of the New Testament.**

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MORUS was formerly Professor of the Greek and Latin languages, and afterwards of Theology, at Leipzig. He died in 1792. He was one of the most distinguished scholars of his day, and his memory appears to be held in the highest veneration by his numerous pupils.—He was a Lutheran; and seems in substance to have adhered to the standards of his church. For although his writings are divested of much of the technical phraseology of Didactic Theology, he always maintained that he held to the commonly received doctrines. His works are principally distinguished by the skillful interpretation and application of Scripture. The expositions which occur in the following article, will, it is presumed, in the general be esteemed correct, although in some cases it is evident that the author's principles are strained too far, and that there is a disposition to *explain away* some of the peculiarly significant expressions of the Bible. This article is taken from his "*Hermeneutica Sacra*," edited by *Eichstaedt*, who has added notes of considerable importance. These notes are included in brackets, and marked by the initial of the Editor's name, E. These notes are in the following translation for the most part retained, and distinguished in the same manner as in the original.

**STYLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.**§ I. *Introduction.*

IT is now necessary to explain separately the forms of speech, peculiar to the New Testament ; or the idioms which occur in it. In the first place therefore we must inquire concerning the general style adopted by the writers of the New Testament ; for in this, as is evident, there is much to aid in a critical investigation.

§ II. *What may be called a pure style.*

This whole subject rests on the question, whether the style of the New Testament, is pure Greek, or conformed to the Hebrew.

That is called a *pure style*, in which there is nothing foreign, or ungrammatical ; either in the import of words, or the construction of sentences. When therefore it is asserted that there ought to be nothing *foreign* in a language. it is usually said, there must be no barbarisms. Any thing foreign is barbarous, and a language that admits foreign words when it might use its own, is said to be infected with barbarisms ; and when it is asserted that there should be nothing *ungrammatical*, it is usually said, there must be no solecisms. But to return to barbarisms, these occur not only in the *construction*, but in the *signification* of words ; thus the Latin phrase *verba facere*, has not the same sense as the German *worte machen*, (to talk non-



sense,) and whoever gives this foreign sense to the Latin phrase, uses a Germanism.

If then a *pure style* admits nothing foreign in the signification of words, or the construction of phrases, in judging of the style of a writer, we must enquire, *first*, whether *single words*, in common use among the Greeks, are used in the same sense as they used them. But it is very evident, that the significations of many words in the New Testament are drawn from the Hebrew. When, therefore, the word *δικαιοσύνη*, in 2 Cor. ix. 9, and (with the true reading) Mat. vi. 1, is used to express *liberality*, the question is not whether it is a good Greek word, but whether that is the Grecian signification. But since no Greek author ever used the word thus, and this signification may be drawn from the Hebrew, *הַרְבֵּה*, it follows that in those passages the word is impure.

Thus also in 2 Cor. ix. 2, *εὐλογία* is used to express *abundance*. This is a good Greek word, and signifies *praise*, from *εὐλογεῖν*, *to praise*; but the Greeks never used it in the sense of *abundance*. It is therefore drawn from the Hebrew, in which it corresponds to *הַרְבֵּה*, and is of course impure.

[*Note.*—The author has treated of those words only, whose origin is Grecian, and signification Hebrew. And such are more particularly embraced in the question. But those also may be added, which the Sacred writers, when speaking of things pertaining to religion, transferred from the Hebrew on account of the deficiency of the Greek. Such are *Μεσσίας*, *ἀλληλούϊα*, *ώσαννά*, *γένενα*, *πάσχα*, *ἀμήν*, &c. E.]

*Again*—We must enquire, not only whether the *phrases* have the Grecian Syntax, but also whether they bear the usual Grecian sense. In Luke i. 6, the words *δικαίος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ* are pure Greek, but the *construction* is foreign,

drawn from the Hebrew לְפָנַי יְהוָה and is therefore impure.

The *signification* also is Hebrew, for δίκαιος like צַדִּיק signifies any thing good and virtuous in general. Thus also in the New Testament Παράσῃναι ἐνώπιον τινος occurs in the sense, *to serve any one*, but Παράσῃναι τινι is used by the Greeks in a different sense. In the phrase ἄρτον φαγῆν, Luke xiv. 1, the construction is Grecian, but the signification is foreign, for it means to take dinner or supper, like the Hebrew אָנַל לְחֶם.

*Lastly*—We must inquire whether the *entire form and manner* of the discourse is Grecian, or Hebraic. When I say the manner of a discourse, I mean the transitions from one thing to another, the form of the periods, and the connexion of words. Such passage for instance as Luke i. 5, 6, 7, after the short preface of pure Greek, sufficiently indicate the Hebrew manner. Its periods are unlike the Greek. It does not, like it, connect the sentences by particles, but usually by the copulative καί. The transitions are not like the Greek; nor does it display that collocation of words which is peculiar to the Greek.

[*Note.*—Concerning these points, consult the preface of I. D. Michaelis, ad R. Lowthii prælectiones de Sacra Poësi Hebræorum, p. 33, seq. E.]

### § III. *Proofs that the style of the New Testament is not pure.*

The question being thus stated and defined, we unhesitatingly assert, that the style of the New Testament is not purely Grecian, but is conformed to the Hebrew idiom, not only in single words, phrases, and forms of speech; but also in the whole form of the language. It remains, therefore, to prove this by clear and substantial arguments.

I. *There are many Greek phrases in the New Testament which can be literally translated into no language so easily as into Hebrew.* For example, the passage Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου may be translated into Hebrew in precisely so many words. And so close an agreement of style cannot happen accidentally, especially when the same mode of writing prevails through almost the whole book. Such things could not escape a writer accidentally. Hence it is thought, that the best exercise for the student of the New Testament, is translating literally from Greek to Hebrew. To a tolerable Hebrew scholar, there is no great difficulty in this, either in single words or phrases.

II. *Many things cannot be explained without the Hebrew.* Many errors have crept into theology, and many theories have been falsely explained, because the Hebrew language was not consulted. But if the necessary comparison of the two languages had been continually made, it would have been evident that so perfect a conformity of the Greek to the Hebrew, could not have been accidental. In Acts xiii. 48, the words τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον cannot be translated without the Hebrew. For if the import is drawn from the Greek, the sense will be, “*transferred into life eternal,*” “*conveyed into that state of felicity.*” But this is evidently absurd; for those who then heard the preaching of Paul, and received his doctrine, are called τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. They were yet living and standing before him. What, therefore is the import? A comparison of the Hebrew shows that those to whom any thing was certain, are said to be *appointed*, or *ordained* to that thing. The evident import of the passage then is this: to as many as were certain of eternal happiness, to them that happiness was ordained, and they received the instruction of Paul.

In Col. iii. 14, ἀγάπη is called σύνδεσμος τῆς σελεύσεως. Those who recollect the Hebrew usage, will translate this by a substantive and an adjective: *a perfect bond.* But

וְהָיָה is by the Hebrew applied to whatever is correct and finished, or excellent and beautiful. With the Hebrew construction and signification, the sense of this passage will be: *love is the most beautiful bond*. And the discourse here refers to the cultivation of mutual affection, which is the best and the firmest bond of society. But if this passage is explained from the Greek, what will be its import? σύνδεσμος means a *bundle*, and a bundle is composed of many things embraced in one. Love, therefore, which is called σύνδεσμος, consists of many virtues embraced in itself. Τελειότηης was used by the Greeks to denote any thing entirely finished, a *final consummation*. What then is a *bundle of perfection*? They explain it thus: In love as in a bundle all the other virtues are generally collected and embraced.

Nor do those succeed better who, independently of the Hebrew, attempt to define the words *election*, *predestination*, and *calling*, from the Greek ἐκλεγειν, προορίζειν, and καλεῖν, or to explain them from the Latin usage. In like manner the word πνεῦμα, the phrase *Christ in us*, and the word *covenant*, are not clearly explained by those who draw the import of πνεῦμα from the Greek or Latin usage, who explain *covenant* by its use among men, and who make *Christ in us* to mean, that Christ is actually dwelling in the breasts of men. When the Hebrew is consulted, it is evident at once, that וְיָרָא is not always applied to a person, but in many other ways; that וְיָרָא is merely a promise with a condition annexed; and that *Christ in us*, denotes that his doctrine is published in the assembly, and present to the hearts of men. From this same fountain have flowed many false, though approved opinions.

On such authority, a debate once somewhere arose, concerning the person of the Spirit; when it ought to have been concerning an entirely different thing. And from 2 Cor. xii. 9, concerning the moral weakness of the saints,

to whom, when doubting, and making but slow progress, the Divine assistance is promised; although the whole tenor of that passage demonstrates that ἀσθένειαν means *misery* and *calamity*. It often happens that those who are ignorant of the Hebrew, and even of the Greek, and who implicitly adopt the Vulgate version, make some very distorted interpretations. Thus in Gal. iii. 1, Christ is said to be “*evidently set forth,*” as if *painted before the eyes* of the Galatians. This in Greek is correctly written κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς προεγράφη. But because the Vulgate has rendered it ‘Christus est proscriptus ante oculos,’ the Latin fathers taught that Christ was *proscribed*, in the same sense as the Romans sometimes were; that is, that he was exiled by the Jews. Could any explanation be more childish?

§ IV. *The arguments of those who advocate the purity of the New Testament Greek, considered.*

While there are so many proofs that the style of the New Testament is not pure, but abounding in Hebraisms, it is surprising that any should tenaciously defend a contrary opinion. The arguments of such shall be briefly stated.

*I. Many things called Hebraisms, are not such, but pure Greek.* To understand this objection correctly, it must be remembered, that the question is not whether pure Greek is mistaken for impure; but whether things have not been, and even now are, by some denominated Hebraisms, which are nevertheless pure Greek. This is cheerfully conceded.

What, for instance, is more common than the phrase ἐργάζεσθαι καλὸν or κακόν, which corresponds precisely to the Hebrew words פִּעַל טוֹב or רַע עֲשֵׂה טוֹב or פִּעַל רָע. Yet Xenophon also writes ἐργάζεσθαι καλά Mem. Soc. II. 1. 27. The phrase, *to fight a fight*, and



the use of *δύναμις*, with reference to an army, are well known ; but they are pure Greek, and must not be considered as Hebraisms. Many fall into this error, because they do not reflect that many phrases are common to all languages. It is not the least strange that we should find expressions in the New Testament, which are common to the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Hence *Glassius*, in the grammatical part of his *Philologia Sacra*, has often remarked concerning such things as are common to Greek, Latin, and foreign writers.

Although such things may be dismissed from the number of Hebraisms, yet it must be remembered, that though found in the Greek, they are no less Hebrew, or rather translated from the Hebrew; for to the writers of the New Testament books, the Hebrew language was vernacular. All their purity, therefore, is accidental; and every phrase common to all languages which they have used, they used because they learned it from their vernacular tongue. Thus also when we were tyros at the school and wrote Latin, we formed much of it from our vernacular tongue, which is likewise the case with many approved writers.

This has been correctly observed concerning the writers of the New Testament, by Gataker contra Pfochen, p. 61, and by other learned philologists. (Comp. *Werenfel's* Opuscul. Dissert. xiv. de Stilo Script. N. T. p. 360.)

*II. They say further, that the words and phrases which occur in the New Testament, are found also among the Greek writers.*

No one will deny that *δικαιοσύνη, κοινόν*, et cet., are found in the Greek writers. But this is not the question. The inquiry is, whether they are used by the Greek writers in the *same sense* as in the New Testament.

This distinction was made in Sect. II. And it appears that all the labours of Pfochen and Blackwall, who contended that every word occurring in the New Testament

is found also in other writers, is utterly lost; and they themselves have admitted, that a few words occur in the New Testament which are not found in any other author.

*III. They defend the purity of the New Testament language by saying, that the words and phrases are read in the same sense in the Grecian authors.*

But such have made an improper selection of writers, from which to defend the purity of the New Testament. For in the first place the *poets* should not have been mentioned, in whom many things occur which are similar to the Hebrew idiom. Thus ξηρά *dry*, is used by the poets like the Hebrew יבֿשָׁה to signify *a continent*. The Hebrew word וִּסְרֵי־לֵב viscera, is often applied to the mind, to the sensations and propensities of the soul, and indeed to every thing internal. The same term is often used by the Greek poets, as *Æschylus*, S. c. Th. 343, a base-hearted, corrupt soldier, a deserter of his arms, is called κάκισπλάγχθος.

In *Plutarch* de A. P. p. 58, a poet calls a brave-hearted man δρασύσπλάγχθος. *Sophocles*, *Antiq.* 5.7, calls two brothers ὁμοσπλάγχθος. And thus also the Hebrews use it. (Comp. *Mori libellus Animadv.* in *Longinum*, p. 32.)

It appears from this, that there are some principles which may guide us in this case. The following are proposed.

a. The poets, indulging their genius and their poetic licence, say many things in an unusual manner. They therefore do not correctly indicate the usage of common life. But in the New Testament, the chief thing, whether in narrating, or in teaching, or in the discourses of common life, is simplicity. Such a style, on such subjects, therefore, can never be referred to the licence and the ornaments of poetic diction, so as to demonstrate its purity; nor can its rules of writing be derived from those who boldly despise such rules.

b. *The poets were permitted to adopt foreign words and*

*phrases.* This is done by Horace in transcribing the Greek words of Pindar, by Lucan, by Seneca the tragedian, and some others. But no one dared to imitate such things in prose, or to defend a barbarism from their authority. The permission was doubtless given to the poets only to vary and adorn their writings, and also to show their learning. This is continually remarked by Heyne on Virgil. But in the simple language of the New Testament authors, is there this variety? this ornament? and this display of learning?

c. *The poets drew many things from the primitive style of the East.* The purity of the New Testament style cannot be defended from Homer, Æschylus, or Pindar, who adopted the Oriental idiom, and imitated the Hebrew. But as this rests on fact, the argument must be historical. Homer undoubtedly lived in Asia Minor, which bordered on the Syrian, Chaldee, and Persian provinces; and is it surprising that a poet of Asia Minor should learn the language and customs of the Orientals? It is in this manner that all which is said in the sacred books concerning the presence of the Deity in the temples, his regard or aversion to men, and his sending upon men diseases, darts, and arrows, is also found in Homer. Proximity of country produced a similarity in language, and an analogy in thoughts and expressions. Others, afterwards, copied Homer, and imitated his sublimity. The agreement of Homer, therefore, with the language of the East was the base of that similarity which is discovered in the lyric writers, as Pindar, and in the tragic, as Æschylus and Sophocles, though the former was a Theban, and the latter Athenians, and neither held intercourse with the Orientals. At this time, in the age of Miltiades and Themistocles, the Greeks were at war with Persia; and when the Greeks went from Europe into the East, it was natural for them to adopt many Orientalisms. And the Jews being then captive in Babylonia and Assyria, and widely

dispersed through those countries, had a continual intercourse with the Greeks. Hence it could not but happen that the Jews should transfer to the Greeks many of their words and forms of speech. These the poets would soon adopt, that thus they might display their learning and adorn their style.—As these things must be noted by the critic, the inclination to observe them will be increased, and an useful exercise afforded to any one who will study the commentaries on Job, the Prophets, and Proverbs, and particularly Lowth on Isaiah. where it is shown that many things are evidently used by Pindar in the same manner as by Isaiah.

Those, therefore, who defend the purity of the New Testament from the poets, ought to make some distinction in those passages of the poets which they quote. Thus a passage from the comic poetry, as Ernesti remarks, may be quoted, with the exception of the choruses. For the Greek comedies, consisting chiefly of dialogues, and the conversations of men concerning the affairs of common life, were in the colloquial style, although written in iambic verse; but in the choruses, the style was far more elevated. With these, therefore, if the choruses be exempted, we may compare the language of the New Testament. There are also a few things in the remaining fables of Aristophanes, which might have a similar bearing.

The defenders of the purity of the New Testament should also be careful to adduce the *more ancient writers*, as models of a pure style, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, the Grecian orators, and all the writers who flourished from Socrates to Alexander the Great. This was the golden age of Grecian literature. Next to the writers of the golden age, were those who flourished from the conquest of the Macedonian empire by the Romans until Augustus. The most eminent of these is Polybius. The authority of those Greek writers, who lived in later times, particularly in the age of the

New Testament writers, as Ælian, M. Antoninus, Libanius, Chariton, who are all mere imitators of the ancients, copying the beauties of the golden age, and who have introduced into their writings a variety of phrases, and a confusion of idioms, is even still less considerable. Those, therefore, are guilty of perverseness, who, estimating the purity of the New Testament, collect the words and phrases from all the Greek writers promiscuously, without inquiring whether they themselves wrote with purity.

Lastly—Those must not be used, *who have formed their style either from a version of the Old, or from the books of the New Testament.* Such are the Greek Fathers, who in writing concerning religion, must have drawn many things from these fountains. The defender of the purity of the New Testament, therefore, gains nothing by citing the authority of Theodoret, Chrysostom, and others, who, although excellent in doctrine, are by no means to be commended for the purity of their language.

Generally, writers must be explained by those which are similar; as historians by historians, philosophers by philosophers, et cet.

*IV. The defenders of the purity of the New Testament diction, use also this argument, that the sacred writers might be expected to use various expressions in a different sense from their common meaning, because they wrote on a subject which was new and unknown to the Greeks.*

These new things are the precepts of religion, to express which, they suppose, required either new words, or new significations drawn from the Hebrew, applied to the common words. But this does not render the New Testament diction impure. Every system has its own peculiar and technical words. And among the Latins also, writers, who were in other respects pure, when they wrote concerning things unknown to the Romans, introduced new



words, chiefly drawn from the Greek. Thus Cicero introduced the word *qualitas*; he uses *mores* out of its common sense, and also *perceptiones*; all these were drawn from the Greeks, and must have been first employed when their philosophy was introduced. But no one hence calls the style impure or barbarous. We admit, therefore, that unless there were other arguments which rendered the purity of the New Testament doubtful, no one could on this account pass sentence against it.

*V. They say that if the diction of the New Testament is impure, it detracts much from its value, for it can have no praise for elegance or beauty of style.*

But first, there is nothing in this to diminish the dignity of the sacred books; for that depends on the matter. Secondly, in this are discovered the footsteps of Divine Providence, which caused the New Testament, written chiefly for the Jews, to be written in the Hebrew idiom. Lastly, many things are related in the sacred books, which require such a style. What these are, will be shown hereafter.

a. *The writers of the New Testament thought in Hebrew.* And hence they must necessarily have been unable to write pure Greek. One born and educated, for instance, among the Germans, and accustomed to think in German, will inevitably write with the German idiom. Thus also the Apostles, who did not cultivate an intercourse with the nations of Palestine who spoke Greek, of course could not divest themselves of the habit of thinking in Hebrew, which had been contracted in childhood.

b. *The writers of the New Testament were not taught in the Grecian Schools.* Those who had from their youth been tax-gatherers and fishermen, could not have learned the Greek language grammatically, and much less philosophically and rhetorically. Hence they did not always avoid errors, and could by no means command at once all

the forms of speech of the Greek language. In Acts iv. 13, they are called ἀνθρώποι ἀγράμματοι, *illiterate*. They might, indeed, have been taught to understand and explain the Scriptures or the law, or been instructed in the Jewish schools. Paul, in 2 Cor. xi. 6, calls himself ἰδιώτην τῷ λόγῳ, *rude in speech*; and this is often repeated in the Epistle to the Corinthians. Why then should we obtrude upon these men a sort of learning which they themselves never claimed, and which has never been attributed to them. (See LAMY de Eruditione Apostolorum, ch. vii—ix. WETTSTEIN's Libellos ad Crisin et Interpret. N. T. p. 48, and THALEMANN. p. 18. E.)

c. *The writers of the New Testament had not read the Greek authors.* This might be expected from tax-gatherers and fishermen. Many, however, have laboured to prove that Paul did write with taste, clearness, purity, and ἀκριβεία; although he denies that he was learned, because he lived at Tarsus, where there were many Grecian rhetoricians and philosophers, they have made him also a rhetorician and a philosopher. And one has even written concerning the library of Paul, concluding from his quotation from Menander, and other poets, that his library must have been furnished with their works. CHR. GUIL THALEMANN, has judged differently in his Dissert. de Eruditione Pauli Apost. Judaica non Græca, L. 1769. 4. Paul was a Pharisee, and therefore debarred the study of Grecian literature; the Pharisees were then most tenacious τοῦ νόμου and τῆς παραδόσεως, and were not led to the study of Grecian learning, because they thought it impure and entirely unconnected with the Law. I refer to the age of Paul, for soon after, there was a change of times and a change of manners. For Josephus, though a Pharisee, was skilled in Grecian learning, and probably wrote in Greek. This change was wrought when the Jews, being subdued by the Romans, and dispersed from their country, were compelled to unite with the Greeks.

I said a little before, that the writing of the New Testament in the Hebrew idiom, displayed marks of *Divine Providence*; this shall be illustrated.

a. We all know that the writers of those books were illiterate Jews, who rose from the common people, and even occupied in the cares of vulgar life. If these books had been left to us written in the elegant style of Xenophon, would it not have afforded a strong argument against their authenticity?

b. The Jewish people to whom they wrote would have disapproved of that style, on account of their hatred to the Greeks, and to Grecian eloquence. For even when Jews cultivated the Grecian learning, as Philo, a great portion of the people were highly displeased. How, then, would they have received the Gospel of Matthew for instance, if they had found in it such a display of learning and refinement of diction?

[*Note.*—See Joh. Aug. Ernesti disp. de odio Judæorum adversus literas Græcas. Lips. 1758, 4to. and in Opuscul. Philol. Criticis, p. 408.

Hence many assert, that from the time that Christianity passed to the Gentiles, when the customs of the Jews became more assimilated to them, and after many pagans were converted to the religion of Christ, the Apostles used a more elegant and classic style of composition, such as is found in the Acts and the Epistles. If this observation refers to the Epistles of Paul, it is undoubtedly true. Only let no one suppose that the Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude, exhibit a refined and elegant style, even when the Jewish dress is laid aside, and the multitude of Hebraisms lessened.

John is purer than Matthew or Mark, if we except the Apocalypse, which is filled with Hebraisms, and unlike the Grecian style. (See Sam. Gottl. Lange Die Schriften Johannis des vertrauten Schüler's Jesu, tom. I.

(1795-8,) Einleit, p. 37.) The purest of all is Luke, in a few places in his Gospel, but more often in the Acts, although he displays more facility of writing, than effort or study. But in the Epistles of Paul, there is an elegance and a splendour of style unusual to unlearned men. This may be attributed to the genius of the Hebrew language, to the Jewish learning which he had acquired, and to the active mind of the author himself, animated in the delivery of divine truth. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. Comp. Job. Guil. Fuhrmann de Concinitate in Epistola Pauli ad Romanos, Lipz. 1776, 4to. Car. Lud. Bauer. Philologia Thucydideo-Paulina, f. notatio figurarum orationis Paulinæ cum Thucydidea comparatæ, Halle 1773, 8vo. Rhetorica Paulina ej. Halle 1782, 11 vol. 8vo., and C. H. Tzschuckii Commentarius logico-rhetoricus de Sermonibus J. Christi, Lipz. 1781. 8vo. See also Haenlein Einleit. in die Schriften des N. T. I. p. 384. E.]

c. It may be added, that such Jews as were strangers to pure Greek, would scarcely have understood the Greek style. Through the Alexandrian version, and the Apocryphal books, they were accustomed to a sort of religious or sacred style. If the Apostles had abandoned this, and unexpectedly selected the style of Xenophon or Plato, who of the Jews would have understood their writings?

*VI. Finally the defenders of purity, complain of the obscurity of style in the N. T. which necessarily exists, if it is to be referred to the Hebrew rather than the Greek idiom.*

Ernesti denies that a greater obscurity does arise from this source. He supposes that the readers of the Apostolic age understood these books, and it is not required of a writer, that he should neglect his own, and adapt his work to future ages. Although this may be true concerning the Jews, who had been accustomed by the

Alexandrian version, and the Apocrypha, to this sort of Greek, yet the Pagans also must be included, who were till then ignorant of the Hebrew language. I am not willing, therefore, to say that even in this age, they were understood by all, and entirely destitute of obscurity. It must be remembered, however, that in this age there were Doctors in the churches, who had been Jews, and who were able to interpret the Hebrew language. There were many laymen also in the Christian assemblies, who having formerly been Jews and acquainted with the language, were able to instruct the Pagans. It is evident, therefore, that in that age the books could be read and understood.

§ V. *Defenders of the purity of N. T. enumerated, who contend that the writers of the N. T. were purely Grecian.*

SEB. PFOCHEN—in *diatribe de linguæ græcæ N. T. puritate, ubi quam plurimis, qui vulgo finguntur, Ebraïsmis larva detrahitur et profanos quoque auctores ita esse locutos : ad oculum demonstratur. Amstel, 1629 and 1633, 12mo.* BALTHAS. STOLBERG—in a tract on the Greek language, *de solicismis et barbarismis græcæ N. T. dictioni falso tributis, ut et de Cilicismis aliisque a punto nove usurpatis, with a preface by C. S. Schwarzfleisch. Wittenberg, 1685, 4to. 3d Edition. Witten. 1688, 4to.*

*Erasmus Schmidt*—in his notes on the New Testament. (Nurenberg, 1658, folio.)

*Anthony Blackwall*—in the Sacred classics, or in auctoribus Sacris classicis defensis et illustratis endeavours to show that the writers of the New Testament and their language were purely classic. His book was written in English and translated into Latin by Christ. Wollius, who defends the same opinion. (Lipsig 1736, 4to.)

[*Note.*—The standard of this opinion, and the conse-



quent controversy, was raised by HENRY STEPHENS, who after the correct judgment of *Erasmus* and *Laurentius Valla*, in the 16th century, concerning the impure style of the New Testament attempted to defend its purity in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, published in 1578. Hence the theologians were excited to this kind of study. A great diversity of opinion was observed, yet the controversies did not appear before Sebastian Pfochen, whose book the author has recommended, and it is also inserted among other writings, on this subject, in *Jacobi Rhenferdi dissertationum philologico—theologicarum de stilo N. T. syntagmati*. Leovard, 1702, 4to. See also T. H. van der Honert, *syntagma disset. de stilo N. T. græci*. Amst. 1703, 4to.

In Germany, the first that repeated and endeavoured to defend the opinions of Pfochen, was J. Grosse, who published at Jena, in 1640, *Triadem propositionum theologicarum stilum N. T. a barbaris criminationibus vindicantium*. He chiefly opposed Joachim Junge, a virulent, though learned adversary of Pfochen. Jungius published *Sententias doctissimorum quorundum virorum—de Hellinistis et hellenistica dialecto*. Jena, 1639, which book it would be well to compare diligently with those of Heinsius, which will be noted hereafter (VII.)

*Christ. Sigism. Georgius*.—who wrote two books on this subject: *Vindiciarum N. T. ab Ebraismis libros III*. Frankfort, 1732, 4to., and *Hierocriticum N. T. S. de stilo N. T. Libros III*. Wirtenberg, 1533, 4to. E.]

#### § VI. *Defenders of the contrary opinion enumerated.*

Among those who asserted that the diction of the New Testament was similar to the Hebrew, we name in the first place *Martin Luther* and *Philip Melancthon*, not because they have written on the subject, for the question was not agitated in that age, but because in their commentaries

they have interpreted many passages by comparing them with the Hebrew, and in this manner they have declared their sentiments concerning the source of the New Testament diction.

The same is often done by *Joach. Camerarius* who published *Notationem (notitiam) figurarum Sermonis in libris quatuor Evangeliorum*. Lips. 1572, 4to., and also in *Apostolicis Scriptis atque in librum παράξεων et ἀποκαλύψεως*. Lips. 1752, 4to. (republished in the Cambridge edition of Beza's N. T.) In these, as Erasmus has done in the notes to his edition of the New Testament, he has illustrated the New Testament style from the Hebrew usage.

But in my opinion *Theodore Beza*, in his notes on the N. T., deserves the highest praise for demonstrating that the New Testament books are filled with Hebraisms, and for the liberal mode of treating those Hebraisms.

*John Drusius*, in *Annot. in totum J. C. Testamentum, s. Præteritorum libris decem*. Franeg. 1612, 4to., and in *Commentario ad voces Ebraicas N. T.*; also *Ejus Annotationum in N. T. parte Altera*. Franeg. 1616, 4to.

*Isaac Casaubon*, in *Exercetatt. xvi. ad Cardinalis Baronii Prologomena in Annales*. Geneva, 1555, 4to.

*Sal. Glassius*, to whose *Philologiæ Sacræ, nostris temporibus accommodatæ a Joh. Aug. Dathis*, (Lips. 1776, 8vo.) are affixed *Dissertations* on the style of the sacred books, and of the New Testament.

*Tho. Gataker*, in *Dissert. de Novi Instrumenti Stilo*, London, 4to., and in his *Operibus Criticis*, Utrecht, 1698, fol. Gataker, who flourished in Britain, was, according to Ernesti, the most learned of those who refuted the error, that a comparison of the poets alone was enough to prove the purity of the New Testament.

*Moses Solanus*, a Frenchman, who wrote a good commentary on Lucian, and also a dissertation *de Stilo N. T. contra Seb. Pfochenium*, (which is inserted in the Rhenferdian Collection.)

*John Olearius*, in libro de Stilo N. T., which being enlarged by John Conrad Schwartz, with the Dissertation of John Henry Boecler, de lingua N. T. originali, was published at Cobourg, 1721, 8vo. This little book is full of instruction; although short, it is very useful for contracting a familiarity with those things in the New Testament which are singular.

*John Vorstius*, in Comment. de Hebraïsmis N. T., besides his thoughts de Stilo N. T., they have added—Horatii Vitringæ Animadv. ad Commentar. de Hebraïsmis N. T. curante Joh. F. Fischer. (Lips. 1778, 8vo.) See also Joh. F. Fischeri Supplementorum Commentarii Verstiani de Hebraïsmis N. T. Lips. 1790, 4to.

*Samuel Werenfels*, in Dissert. de Stilo Scriptorum N. T. (Basil, 1698, inserted also in his Opuscul. Tom. I. p. 311. Lausanne, 1792, 8vo.)

*John Leusden*, in a singular little book de Dialectis N. T. singulatim de ejus Hebraïsmis, republished by John Fr. Fischer. Leips. 1792, 8vo.

[*Note.*—Many things of this sort are found in J. F. Fischeri Proluss. de Vitiis Lexicorum N. T., Lips. 1791, 8vo.; but besides these, the names and writings of others can be learned from Buddei Isagoge, p. 1301. Michaelis' Introduction to N. T., Tom. I. p. 106. 223. Fischer's Preface to Leusden's book de Dialectis N. T., ed. ii. 1792, 8vo. Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Vol. IV. p. 891. ed. Harl. But the whole history of this controversy de Stilo N. T. Chr. Matt. Pfaffius gives, in his exergetical notes on Matthew, Lect. III. p. 28. E.]

## § VII.

The style of the New Testament, which we have been describing, is correctly denominated Hebræo-Grecian. But there are some, as J. Joseph Scaliger, (Animadv.

ad Eusebium, p. 139,) and after him John Drusius, who prefer calling it *Hellenistic*. The reason is, that after the time of Alexander, the name Hellenist was applied to those native Jews, who lived out of Palestine, and who not only used the Greek language, but conformed to the Grecian customs and modes of living; for when the Jews were led into captivity by the Ptolomies of Egypt, and the Antiochs of Syria, they were so mingled with the Greeks, that many of their native customs were disused and forgotten, and succeeded by Grecian customs, with the Grecian language. The language of these Hellenists, however, was filled with Hebraisms, and many things were literally translated from the Hebrew. This is the language found in the New Testament; and if any wish to call it Hellenistic, I shall not object. But let them beware lest, with Daniel Heinsius, they understand by it some peculiar dialect. Such would be like one who should discover Germanisms in a Latin book, and should conclude that the language was a dialect of the German; or one who should hear in the language of a modern Jew, a mixture of Hebrew and German words, and should call it a dialect of the Hebrew; for this is not a diversity of terminations and form, which constitutes a dialect, but a new mixture of different languages.

When Heinsius used the word dialect in this affair, (in *Prefatio ad Nonni, Episcopi, Paraphrasin Evangelii Johannis*, Leyden, 1627, 8vo; and in *Exercit. Sacris ad N. T.*, Leyden, 1639, and lastly in *Exercit. de Lingua Hellenistica et Hellenistis*, Leyden, 1643, 8vo.; add also his *Apologiam adversus Croium*, 1696, 12mo,) though the error of a man who was often engaged in accurately illustrating and explaining the Greek diction from the Hebrew usage, did not much injury to the cause in general; yet it gave rise to a controversy, replete indeed with learning, but not with kindness. For Heinsius found an adversary in *Claudius Salmasius*, a man of genius and learning, who

undertook, in a book de Hellenistica, or Commentario Controversiam de Lingua Hellenistica Decidente, (Leyden, 1643,) to refute the opinion that the Hellenist was a peculiar dialect of the New Testament. To this Heinsius replied, and in the same year Salmasius published Funus Linguæ Hellenisticæ, sive Comfutationem Exercit. de Hellenistica. Not caring to have his opinion as it were buried, and the funeral ceremonies performed, Heinsius wrote another book; Salmasius answered it by publishing Ossilegium Linguæ Hellenisticæ sive Appendicem ad Comfutationem Exercitionis de Hellenistica, Leyden, 1743, 8vo. So that the funeral of the Hellenist being over, its bones and ashes were collected together and utterly destroyed.

[*Note.*—Concerning the *Hellenistic dialect*, there are two subjects of inquiry; first, *who may be, and have been called Hellenists*; and secondly, *whether the term Hellenistic dialect is correctly applied*.

Concerning the Hellenists, there are *three* principal opinions—

1. *Heinsius* (Aristarchi Sacri, P. I. Ch. x. p. 795, et P. II. Ch. viii. 898, Leyden ed. 1639, fol.) calls those Hellenists who were native Jews, but lived out of Palestine, chiefly in Egypt, and who used the Greek version of the Bible, and spoke generally the Greek language inflecting to the Hebrew idiom.

2. *Salmasius* (de Hellenistica, p. 190,) calls those Hellenists, who were not native Jews, but proselytes. He adds also, that they adopted from the Greeks the Greek version of the Bible, which the Jews of Palestine never used.

3. *John Lightfoot* (in addendis ad Horæ Heb. in 1 Cor. xiv. Cap. I. opp. Tom. II. p. 929, wishes to distinguish them thus, that the Hebrews were Jews of Palestine, Babylon, Assyria, and Syria, to whom the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic was vernacular; and that the Hellenists were



native Jews, but dwelling among the Gentiles, ἐν διασπορᾷ, to whom the Greek was vernacular. *Morus* embraces the opinion of *Heinsius*, not only in his *Hermeneutics*, but elsewhere. But when the arguments adduced by *Salmasius* and *Carpsovius*, (*Crit. Sacræ*,) are duly estimated, it seems necessary to abandon this opinion; for first, in *Acts* ii. v. 11, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσήλυτοι are mentioned, among whom, in *Ch.* vi. 5, the Hellenists are reckoned, of whom was *Nicolas*, a proselyte of Antioch, *vr.* 5; so that the writer evidently makes no distinction between proselytes and Hellenists. But in *Ch.* xi., the Hellenists are distinguished from the Jews, and in *Ch.* vi., the Hebrews from the Hellenists. At this time the Church was composed of two classes, Hellenists, and Hebrews or Jews, for between the latter there was no difference, except that Hebrew was a more ancient and general appellation, pertaining to the whole nation, while Jew was applied rather in a religious sense, and confined to the inhabitants of Judea. If this distinction is correct, we can easily comprehend why Paul, though a native of Tarsus, and born of Hebrew parents among the Greeks ἐν διασπορᾷ, never calls himself ἑλληνιστὴν, but every where ἑβραῖον; and by this the opinion of *Salmasius* is confirmed. 2. It cannot be conceded that all the Jews, through all their wide dispersion, in Italy, India, Persia, and other Eastern lands, understood and commonly used the Grecian language. We cannot, therefore, with *Heinsius*, agree to call all that dwelt out of Judea, Hellenists. The word ἑλληνίζειν is used among the Greeks in two senses. In the first and more general sense, it is applied to any one who uses the Greek language τῶν Ἑλληνῶν, and in this sense is opposed to every foreign dialect. In the stricter sense, it is applied to those who cultivate the more polite Grecian learning. The signification, therefore, of this word, and of ἑλληνιστής, derived from it, is different from the one which *Heinsius* would give to it, so that the *Hellenistic language* was unknown to the ancients, both

in name and in fact. If this be used, it should be applied *only* to the *language* in which the words are Greek and the idiom Hebrew, without reference to the nation or country of a writer.

The 2d inquiry is, whether the term *Hellenistic dialect* is correctly applied.

Salmasius, both from the etymology of the word and the authority of the ancients, has shown that to constitute a dialect, two things are required. 1. That the people who use the dialect ought to be definitely limited, and divided from another people, who use a different dialect. 2. That its difference ought to consist in single words rather than phrases, and regard the transposition of letters and syllables, and the change in grammatical forms. In what is called the Hellenistic dialect, neither of these things occurs. For there was no people or city called Hellenist, but they were exiles through all the earth; nor did this dialect exhibit any thing peculiar in its simple words, though its whole construction was new, or rather, as Morus says, it was a new mixture of different languages.

The most eminent authors in this controversy, were *Richard Simon*, *Histoire Crit. d. N. T.*, L. II. Ch. 27, against Salmasius. Opposed to Simon was

*Joh. Hen. Mains*, in *Examine Historiæ Criticæ N. T.*, 1694, 4to. C. 27, 28. He referred the style of the N. T. and the Septuagint, to the Macedonian and Alexandrine dialect.

*John Croius*, *Observatt. in N. T.* Genev. 1645, 4to. C. 30, 34.

*Matthew Cotter*, in *Exercitatt. de Hellenistis, et Linguæ Hellenist.* Strasburg, 1646, 12mo.

*Mart. Schock*, *de Hellenistis et Ling. Hei. Dissert. ad Heinsium et Salmasium.* Utrecht, 1651, 8vo.

*Aug. Pfeiffer*, in *Critica Sacra.* (Dresden, 1680,) 8vo. E.]

§ VIII. *Of the appellation, Alexandrine Dialect.*

This name was first selected by John Ernest Grabe, the British editor of the Septuagint, from the Codex Alexandrinus (Oxford, 1707-29, 4 vols. fol.)

But that this appellation is unsuitable, is evident, first, from what has previously been shown, that the Hebræo-Grecian style is not a dialect. And secondly, this style was used by the Jews of other places, for all who lived out of Palestine, used the Greek language conformed to the Hebrew idiom. There is no cause, therefore, why this should be named from the city of Alexandria. And lastly, this name would cause much confusion; for in the literary history of the Grecian language, the *Alexandrine dialect* denotes those provincialisms which the Alexandrines used instead of pure Greek. Such Alexandrinisms were collected by *Irenæus*, a grammarian of Alexandria, in a curious book without a date. (Vide Fabricii Bibl. Græc. Vol. IV. p. 537.) FRED. WILLIAM STURZE, has also written a dissertation, de Dialecto Alexandrina ratione simul habitæ versionis librorum N. T. Græcæ. But many things peculiar to this dialect, occur not only in the Alexandrine version, but also in the books of the New Testament.

§ IX. *The Style of the New Testament has been influenced by other languages besides the Hebrew.*

Every thing in the New Testament which is not pure Greek, is not therefore derived from the Hebrew; for there are in these books,

*I. Latinisms.* Thus in Luke xii. 58, is the phrase ἐργασίαν δοῦναι, which is the Latin operam dare; in Chap. xiv. 18, ἔχε με παρητημένον, habe me excusatum; in Matt. xxii. 15, λαμβάνειν συμβούλιον, consilium capere; in Titus ii. 10, πίστιν ἀγαθὴν ἐνδεικνῦναι, fidem bonam exhibere. OLEARUS,

in his valuable book the *Stilo N. T.* has collected many things of this kind. (p. 368, Ed. Schwarz.)

[*Note.*—The introduction of Latinisms arose from the extent of the Roman Empire, the use of Roman laws, the presence of the Romans in the provinces, the commerce of merchants, and finally from the Greek writers who used them.

After JOH. ERH. KAPPIUS wrote a dissertation de N. T. Græci Latinismis, merito ac falso suspectis, (Lips. 1726, 4to.,) a controversy arose between *Sigism. Fr. Dresigius*, in favour of the opinion of *Kappe*, and CH. SIG. GEORGIUS, who took the opposite side. Both are embraced in the second part *Hierocritici Novi Fæderis*. Wittenb. 1733, 4to.

JOH. GEO. PRITEUS has also collected examples of such Latinisms in *Introd. in Lectionem N. T.* Lips. 1764, p. 320. E.]

*II. Persian words.* As γάρζα for treasury, μάγοι for wise men, ἀγγαρεύειν, to compel. Matt. v. 41.

*III. Syraisms.* As, ἀββά, μαρὰν ἀθά, which is, the Lord comes. 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

*IV. Chaldeeisms.* To this belongs the use of *remission of debt*, for *forgiveness of sins*. On this consult Buxtorf's Lexicon.

*V. Rabbinisms.* Which have been treated of in separate books by JOHN LIGHTFOOT, in *Horis Hebraicis et Talmudicis*. Lips. 1679, 4to, and in *Operis*, 2d Ed. Utrecht, 1699, fol. tom. II. And by CHR. SCHOETGIN, in *Horis Heb. et universum N. T.* Dresden, 1773-42, Tom. II. 4to. To the Rabbinisms belongs the well-known Formula, *to bind*, and *to loose*.

From these things, it is evident that the style of the New Testament is far from being perfectly pure. On this

subject, much may be found in J. D. Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament. Vol. I p. 128, seq.

§ X. *Rules for discovering the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

With these things premised concerning style in general, it is easy to propose rules for discovering the usus loquendi, and for tracing out and interpreting particular passages.

*Rule I. We must study the Greek authors who most nearly resemble the sacred writers.*

The attention of the sacred critic must be directed not only to such writers as used the popular style, but also to such as lived in or near the Apostolic age, and who did not imitate the ancient style of the Attic writers.

For when by the prowess of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian empire had stretched over almost the whole earth, the Greek language was also widely extended. This was a new bond of union among the nations. And as the conquered nations adopted much of the Grecian idiom, so the Greek language became warped from the native purity which it had when confined within the borders of Greece; and from its intercourse with Asiatics, Africans, and Europeans, it acquired many barbarisms. The epoch of the Greek language, when it underwent so great a change, is called in the history of literature, the Macedonian. And these new forms are called the Macedonian dialect.

The principal author in this new style was Polybius, who flourished about 200, B.C. It might be truly said, that one perfectly acquainted with the best Greek authors, when he came to this, would find every thing so different, that it would be almost necessary to learn the language anew. He differs from others in the signification of words; and in using words and phrases entirely new.



The reader may profitably use the *Lexicon Polybianum*, added to the edition of Ernesti. Lips. 1763-4, 8vo. (lately enlarged by John Schweighheuser, a new editor of Polybius. Lips. 1789-95, Tom. VII. E.)

After Polybius, the chief writer in this style was *Diodorus Siculus*, who flourished in the age of Julius Cæsar, near the Apostolic times. The comparison of both these writers is important. For after the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews who were scattered through Egypt, Syria, and other provinces, assumed this new style, as may be easily perceived from the Apocryphal writings.

Such is the preface to Luke's Gospel, which accords precisely with the style of Polybius and Diodorus, and is written without Hebraisms. Such is the last chapter of Acts, and Luke vii. 40, to the end. In the other books, many forms, derived from this source, are scattered, as *παραδειγματίσαι*, Matt. i. 19, *δογματίζειν*, Col. ii. 20, *καταβραβεύειν*, to defraud, Col. ii. 18. Hence, as PETR WESELING, from *Diodorus*, and GEO. RAPHAEL, from *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, have shown, more benefit may be derived from observations on the New Testament, drawn from these authors, than from whole commentaries written on the books themselves.

*Rule II. Compare with the New Testament the Hebrew, assisted by the ancient versions of the Old Testament.*

After a tolerable familiarity with the Hebrew, all that is read in the Old Testament should be reperused in the Alexandrine version. By this continual comparison, the Hebraisms used by the Greeks will become familiar; and in the mean time let the passages in the New Testament, often in the same words, be recalled.

*Rule III. In addition to the versions of the Old Testament, let the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament be compared.*

For in them, both in words and phrases, is found the same Hebraic and popular style of speaking concerning sacred things, and the historic style of the Apocryphal books is necessarily similar to the style of the New Testament. The writers of the Apocrypha were Jews, and thought and wrote in the Jewish manner; hence there are many things in those books, not found in the Old, though often in the New Testament. Compare Heb. xi. with the Son of Sirach, xiv xv. It is much to be desired that those books were studied with more order, and brought to bear on the interpretation of the New Testament.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament also ought to be compared. These, JOHN ALB. FABRICIUS has collected in codice Apocrypho Novi T. Hamb. 1719, Svo. On this subject there are many things in Semleri Apparatus ad Liberalem N. T. interpretationem. Halle, 1767, Svo. p. 104.

[Catalogue of authors who have written on the Apocrypha, to illustrate the acts, opinions, doctrines, manners, customs, words, and phrases, of the New Testament.

GEO. JOH. HENKIUS, Dissert. de usu librorum Apocryphorum V. T. in N. T. Halle 1711, 4to., and in Theod. Hasaei, et Conrad. Ikenii Thesauro novo theologico philologico. Leyden and Amst., 1732, fol. T. I. p. 15.

JOH. GODOF. JEHNICHEN, Dissert. de petenda rerum quas libri N. T. continent, e libris V. T. Apocryphis illustratione. Wittenb. 1787, 4to.

FRISCH vergleichung zwischen den Ideen, welche in den Apocryphen des A. T. und d. schriften des N. T. über Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht, und Vergeltung herrschen; in Eichhorn's Bibliotheca litterat. Bibl. To. IV. p. 653—718; über die Messianischen Zeiten. Ib. To. VI. p. 692.

FLUGGE, Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht, und Vergeltung. Lips. 1795, II. 8vo.

STAEUDLIN, *Historia Doctrinæ de Futura Corporum examinatum instauratione.* Götting, 1792, 4to.

J. D. MICHAELIS, Uebersetzung des ersten Buchs der Macabäer, in his German version of the Old Testament.

J. D. HASSE, Das andere Buch der Macabäer übersetzt mit Anmerkungen und Untersuchungen. Jena, 1786 8vo.

J. W. LINDE, Sittenlehre Jesu des Sohnes Sirach, neue übersetz. mit erläut. und Krit. Anmerkungen. Lips. 1782, 8vo.

ANDR. JOH. ONYMUS, Die Weisheit Jesus, Sirach's Sohn, mit erläut. Anmerkungen. Würzb. 1786, 8vo.

J. G. HASSE, Salomos Weisheit, neue übersetz. mit Anmerk. und Untersuchungen. Jena, 1785, 8vo.

JON. MELCH. FABER, *Super libro Sapientiæ, Proluss. VI.* Onold. 1776-7, 4to. et *super lib. Sap. P. II. cont. Hasseum.* Onold. 1786-8, 4to.

J. F. KLEUKER, Salomonische Denkwürdigkeiten. Riga, 1786, 8vo.

For understanding the style of writing, we may refer to

JOH. WALDINII *Annot. Phil. Criticæ in lib. qui inscribitur Σοφια Σαλωμωνος.* Gryphisw. 1786, 4to.

J. CHR. BEILII, *Novus Thesaurus Philolog. Lex. in LXX. interpretes et Scriptores V. T.* Hag. Com. 1799, 8vo.

J. FR. SCHLEUSNERI, *Spicilegia ad Beilii Lex. II.* Lips. 1784-6. 8vo.

Those who illustrate the New Testament from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, are,

THEOPH. KUINOEL, *Auctor, Observationum ad N. T. ex lib. Apoc. V. T.* Lips. 1794, 8vo.

JOH. GODOFR. EICHHORN, *Einleitung in die Apocryphischen Schriften des A. T.* Lips. 1795, 8vo.

After these works on the use of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the Apocryphal writings of the New began to be elucidated. On this subject GUIL. LUD. BRUNNIUS has lately published, *Disquisitionem historico-criticam de indole, ætate et usu libri Apoc. vulgo inscripti Evangelii-*

um Nicodemi. Berlin, 1784, Svo. This regards chiefly the Gospel of Matthew. Compr. Götting. Bibl. der Neusten Theologischen Literatur. Vol. I. p. 762-70. To all these, add an anonymous Commentary von den Apocraphis und Pseudopigraphis der Juden in Beyträgen zur Beförd. d. vern. Denkens in d. Religion. P. IV. p. 19, in Fabricii Bib. Græca, Vol. III. p. 718. Vol. IV. p. 822. ed. Harl. E.]

§ XI. *The Hebrew must also be compared with the pure Greek.*

We have seen (§ IV.) that sometimes the same word or phrase will be both pure Hebrew and pure Greek, since it is true that all languages have common forms of speech. A proper sense, therefore, may be drawn either from the Hebrew or Greek; thus the phrase ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν ἁμαρτίαις, if taken in the Hebrew sense, will mean not so much *to die naturally*, as *to become miserable on account of sin*; but if from the Greek its import will be, *to die by violence*, as one taken when committing a robbery and slain, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. Both explanations will suit the passage in John viii. 1—24. But in such cases the Hebrew ought to be preferred to the Greek; because a Hebrew would more probably use the phrase in the Hebrew than in the Greek sense, particularly if it was rare and unusual. Καταβολὴ σπέρματος, (Heb. xi. 11,) if interpreted from the Greek καταβαλλεῖν σπέρμα means *to scatter seed in the fields*; but if from the Hebrew יָרַי signifies *posterity*, and καταβαλλεῖν is in the Alexandrine version *to lay a foundation*, or *make a beginning*, as in πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦ κόσμου. In the Hebrew sense, therefore, it will mean, *to lay the foundation of a family*, that is, to beget a son from which a family may proceed.

§ XII. *Chiefly concerning the preceptive style.*

It is correctly asserted, that the doctrinal expressions which are peculiar to the Christian religion, must always be interpreted from the Hebrew language. For instance, *to fear God*, is, from the Hebrew usage, *to reverence and worship God in general*. *The knowledge of God*, in the Hebrew idiom, is not only a knowledge of God in the mind, but such a knowledge as produces devotion and reverence for God, consequently theoretic and practical knowledge. In like manner if angels are so called, because they are spirits more excellent than men; if *πισς* is said *σώζειν*; if *ἡμολογῆσαι ἀμαρτίας* not only means to confess with the mouth, but also to disapprove in the heart the things committed, and to judge ourselves base and deserving punishment; these can be derived only from the Hebrew.

The reasons why the words in these cases ought generally to be drawn from the Hebrew, are very apparent. For, first, the teachers of religion were Jews, who received their religious instruction in Hebrew, who from their childhood thought in Hebrew, and who, when called to the office of teaching, could express themselves only in Hebrew; for they were strangers to Grecian literature. Secondly, the religion of the New Testament agrees with the religion of the Old, as a continuation, that is, it so agrees, that in place of the ritual worship, succeeds the internal and spiritual. The economy of the law is superseded by another; and what was imperfect and obscure, is rendered perfect and clear. But the continuation is either the same, or in the same style. Thus *προσερχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ* is in both the Jewish and the Christian religion. In the one it is *to go up to the Temple*, in the other it is continued; yet to render the imperfect perfect, it is *to approach God in spirit*. In the same manner many things in the Old Testament, spoken concerning sacrifices, priests, the temple of God, &c., with the figure removed, are in the New Testament



applied to Christ offering himself to die, and to the assembly of Christians. This will not appear sufficiently evident, without the necessity of interpreting the preceptive style of the New Testament from the Old Testament books, is perceived; for the whole style of language in the New Testament, concerning the worship of God, is drawn from this source; as when giving thanks to God is called offering the sacrifices of the lips, and of praise. But in the illustration and explanation of this preceptive style, we must be careful not to draw opinions from the forms or tenses of verbs, or the number of verbs and nouns, in which the New Testament style often departs from the Greek and follows the Hebrew.

*Number of words.* In the New Testament, οἰκτιρομενοι is applied to God, much stress is wont to be laid on the plural, as if the *great* mercy of God was intended. But this opinion is drawn directly against the Hebrew usage; for רַחֲמִים means mercy without any emphasis, or idea of greatness. רַחַם in the singular, means *uterum*. In like manner those err who attempt to establish a plurality of persons from the plural form of אֱלֹהִים, or the trinity from the union of a singular verb with אֱלֹהִים, and those who from שָׁמַיִם would prove the plurality of the heavens, or draw the idea of the highest heaven where God has his throne.

*The forms of verbs and tenses.* Tenses are so indefinite and confused in the Hebrew, that nothing can be drawn from them positively. Thus the future is often præterite or present, and the perfect is used for the imperfect or present, which is chiefly manifest in reading the prophets, where history must be consulted.

### § XIII. *The other Oriental dialects must be compared.*

When the Hebrew fails in elucidating the sense, the other Oriental languages must be consulted; *the Syriac*

first, and then the *Chaldee and Rabbinic*. In this we must beware of abusing these aids, for the display of a profitless learning. When a form of speech is sought in another language, the Syriac for instance, after having found how they used it, we may discover its import in the Greek language.

[*Note*.—We add the following words, which may be illustrated from the Arabic language, *ρήμα έργον*, Matt. xii. 36, *προσευχῆσθαι*, Matt. xix. 13. *ἐρχεσθαι ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης*, Matt. xxi. 32. Comp. J. D. Michaelis *Einleit. in das N. T. p.* 149. ed. 4. E.]

§ XIV. *Direct testimony is not always sufficient to discover the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

The legitimate mode of discovering, in single passages, the usage of the New Testament writers, is by testimony which is generally called *direct*. But though this is the general mode, yet alone it neither is, nor can be sufficient; for in these books *many words are new because the things are new*, and can neither be explained from the Hebrew or Greek, but are peculiar to the New Testament, as they occur there in a sense evidently new. For example, the doctrine of Christ is called *πνεῦμα*, 2 Cor. iii. 6, in opposition to the written law of Moses. But the word *πνεῦμα* does not occur in the Old Testament in this sense, and much less in the Greek writers. The whole Christian doctrine also is called *εὐαγγέλιον*, which cannot be explained from a Hebrew root. *To change one's religion* is in the New Testament *μετανοεῖν* or *ἐπιστρέφειν*, applied chiefly to the Pagans, as in Acts xvii. 30. But it is not so read in the Old Testament.

In the New Testament *ἐκκλησία* is an institution of the doctrine of the Christian religion; but *קָהָל* in the Old Testament, signifies only an assembly of people. We add from Ernestius some examples. *Δαιμονιζέσθαι* used con-

cerning men whose disease was ascribed to some demon; although this word was used by the Greek writers of that age, as Josephus. Ταρταρος is not found in the Old Testament, though common in the Greek language. But in the New Testament, (2 Pet. ii. 4,) the fabulous Tartarus of the Greeks is not intended, but the state of misery of the wicked. There is nothing in Hebrew corresponding with the word ἀναγεννᾶν; and though the phrase *to be born again*, is often to be found in the Greek and Latin writers, yet it means being transferred from misery to happiness: but in the New Testament, it refers to a moral change in man. Why Ernestius adds τερατα και σημεια, ἀδης, I cannot understand, for they are not new in the New Testament, and may be explained from the Old Testament.

§ XV. *How the usus loquendi of the New Testament, in such passages, may be discovered.*

For these cannot be explained from the primitive signification, but have a peculiar interpretation, though not less certain. The import may be found,

*I. In the description which the writers have sometimes added.* Thus in Heb. ix. 15, covenant, κληρονομια, μεσιτης, are so explained, as to show that they are metaphorical.

*II In the collation of other similar passages.* We have already seen what a true parallelism is, (p. 92,) and we add here, that the explanation of words in a new sense must be sought from some leading passage of the same class. Such is the passage in John iii. on regeneration.

*III. In the testimonies of the Greek Fathers.* By this nothing more is proved, than that such a Doctor of the Church understood a word in such a sense. We must still inquire whether he understood it falsely or correctly. Thus the whole investigation returns to the comparison of the

New Testament writers, and parallel passages. Ernesti has mentioned the Greek Fathers, from whom he brings examples, P. III. c. 5. § 23; from him we shall extract what is important. In Phil. ii. 6, 7, it is said, Ἰησοῦς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ υπαρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμα ἡγήσατο το εἶναι ἴσα θεοῦ. But I do not find that Paul has here used any word in a new sense; nor is there much light from the passage of Clemens Romanus, Ep. i. p. 20, Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας καιπερ δυναμενος ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονων. In I Cor. xi. 10, how is πνευμα ἐρευνα και τα βαθη του Θεου illustrated from the passage in Cyril Hieros. Cat. xi. p. 222, when he exchanges the word ερευναν for the word γιγνωσκειν? If in the books of the Apostolic Fathers, I could tell what things were drawn from the primitive Apostolic discipline, and delivered down, they would be of consequence in interpreting. But who can say what these things are?

#### IV. *In the use of Greek Glossaries.*

V. *In the context, and the nature of the things themselves.* What pertains to this subject may easily be reduced to precept. Collect the plain and evident propositions of Scripture, and make them the basis of the interpretation. See that no interpretation is inconsistent with these propositions. If any thing is found in the sacred writers repugnant to these propositions, reduce them to a coincidence. When it is said that God is holy, and tempts no man to sin, and elsewhere, that he causes them to sin; that God is omnipotent, and elsewhere, that he dwells in men;—these propositions must be reconciled from *common sense*. And one thus doing, is said to interpret according to the *analogy of faith and doctrine*.

§ XVI. *What the analogy of faith is, and what is its use in discovering the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

*Analogy of faith and sacred doctrine*, is a technical term; for *πικισ* is often applied to doctrine in general. *Analogy* is used in the same sense, as when we say analogy of law, as in an obscure case we appeal to an analogy of law, which requires this or that sense; that is, from some perspicuous passage, from evident legal principle, we may establish what is now obscure. Thus the *analogy of faith and doctrine*, is contained in the principal maxims and precepts of religion, clearly taught. This is, as I understand it, a *summary* of all religious doctrine: for if such evident propositions as that God is one, that he created the world, that he governs all things, that he reforms us by his truth, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments, be collected, they will constitute a summary of religion; and this constitutes the standard according to which every thing must be interpreted, so that all shall harmonise.

It is wrong to make this analogy consist in the doctrines approved by any one sect, as the Lutherans, Calvinists, or Papists. For then there would be many analogies, each sect would hold up its own religious system as the standard.

The system of no sect can ever become the law of interpretation; for this refers to the plain and evident testimony of Scripture. Nor does the analogy of doctrine consist in the system of any particular person; for these systems are disposed in order, and the doctrine explained in a manner merely to suit the authors. Such systems cannot be made a rule of interpretation.

The Doctors of the ancient Latin Church, often spoke of a *rule of faith*, to which all things must be referred, and with which all must agree. This rule of faith, which,



although it might have differed from ours, was the analogy of doctrine, may be learned from the book of Joh. Geo. Rosenmüller de origine Christiani Religionis, p 82. The Doctors of the second century had a certain epitome of doctrine, not drawn from the New Testament, but formed before the New Testament was written, which was delivered down in the church by tradition.

These were used chiefly in instructing catechumens, and defeating adversaries and heretics. So Tertullian de Prescriptionibus Hæreticorum, p. 15. Comp. Schroeckh Kirchengeschichte, Tom. IX. p. 95. E.

But who can make a rule, from oral tradition, a law of interpretation? We ought, therefore, to attribute nothing to tradition, but all to the evident doctrines of Scripture.

Lastly, the opinion of those who think they have found in Rom. xii. 6, the *analogy of faith* in the same sense as we have explained it, is censurable; for first there was no necessity for such a precept in the Scripture, when common sense, the custom of writers, and the thing itself, require that one thing should be illustrated by another. And secondly, this passage has a sense entirely different, for he is there recommending modesty. *If any man teach, let him teach according to his own conviction; he should not wish to teach more than he knows, and is assured of, and should acknowledge that others may know more than he does.*

#### § XVII. *When the analogy of faith is to be used.*

The analogy of faith ought chiefly to be adduced in those places which contain something repugnant to evident truths elsewhere, and also to common sense, in divine and human things. ΘΕΟΣ ΕΣΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ is an evident truth, clearly revealed. When, therefore, the members of the human body are ascribed to God, who is not constrained to explain such passages with reference to the declaration just quoted? It is repugnant to common sense when it is read, that if

any one desires to follow me, he must hate his parents ; for it is elsewhere said *τιμα τον πατερα*. It must therefore be accommodated to this evident proposition. It was very common among profane authors, (although they thought and wrote with skill and accuracy,) when not professedly speaking on doctrinal subjects, to employ expressions not strictly correct, but which were to be understood in a sense consistent with their opinions, when stated with more precision. It is not surprising, therefore, that the sacred writers should sometimes have written with less precision, when the nature of the oriental genius and language had generally this tendency. On this account, an interpreter should become familiar with such modes of speech, and so accustomed to the labour of softening some and limiting others, that he may be prepared for the more difficult passages. But in what manner every thing that will not coincide with sure and evident propositions is to be explained and reconciled, cannot be explained by precepts ; for in different passages, different methods are required.

*I. Many things are said universally or absolutely, which must be understood with limitations et προς τι, especially in morals.*

The precept concerning loving others, was in the Old Testament before Christ, and was often inculcated. As this commandment is called *new* in Joh. xiii. 34, it must be either *absolutely*, or in a certain sense, et προς τι, so that in some respects it may be *new*. But as far as possible, this must be learned from the passage itself ; thus, as far as love to others is commanded *according to the example* of Christ, *because* he loved them, and to the extent that he loved them. Thus also it is plain that there ought to be in the Christian church, men learned in religion, because Christ appointed and desired it. When, therefore, we read in 1 John ii. 20, ye know all things and have no need that any man should teach you, it appears to disagree with that proposition here, what is spoken

generally and absolutely which must be understood particularly ; this appears from the passage itself, which relates to false teachers, who disseminated heresies. The writer, therefore, could correctly say, you have no need to be taught things that are new and contrary to my doctrine, for you know all that belongs to the doctrines of religion.

The same occurs in *morals*, when things are often spoken of hyperbolically ; as when we find in Psalms such things as, there is *none* that serves God, *none* that works righteousness, *all* have sinned, and are full of murder, rapine, and blasphemy. Who will dare to understand these things absolutely. These particular crimes certainly greatly increased in that age, and the greater part of mankind became addicted to them. From history, therefore, those things which are asserted absolutely, must be understood with some limitation.

*II. Many things in morals not spoken comparatively, are however to be thus understood.*

We read that God saith, I desire not *sacrifice* but obedience. Yet he had prescribed that victims should be offered. This, therefore, must be understood comparatively, sacrifice being compared with obedience. Then this will be the sense : I desire *obedience* more than *sacrifice*. In 1 Tim. vi. 8, it is said, and having food and raiment, let us therewith be content. Must no one desire a house, or a competence of wealth ? These things, therefore, are compared with what are called the luxuries of life. In 1 Cor. vi. 18, Paul says, every sin that a man doeth is without the body, that is, the injury is done out of the body, as in theft, murder, &c., but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body, that is, injures himself. Are not other things, as drunkenness, anger, &c., committed against his own body ? And is not fornication committed without the body ? And does it not injure others ? In this sense they are not opposed ; but if understood comparatively, the sense is evident ; the fornicator

injures himself *most*, and he that commits other crimes injures others most. On such interpretations in morals, see Turretin de Interpret. Sacrarum Literarum, p. 348.

§ XVIII. *How the analogy of faith may determine things doctrinally ambiguous.*

I will add in passing, that the analogy of faith may determine doctrinal ambiguities, which can be determined in no other manner. A *grammatical* ambiguity exists in the possibility of many significations which a word will bear, or of many senses which the context will admit. But a *doctrinal* ambiguity is when there is a diversity in the doctrine or sentiment itself. For example, in the beginning of the Gospel of John, Jesus Christ is called God. But some object that that God may signify any thing exalted or venerable, in which sense magistrates and angels are sometimes called gods. They, therefore, are unwilling, from the words ὁ λόγος ἦν Θεός, to derive an argument for Christ's Divinity as others do. And for determining this doctrinal ambiguity, we are wont to collect all the passages that plainly relate to Christ. We know that divine works and attributes are attributed to him. Hence we conclude, that he who is said to have built the world, who sustains it, who is omniscient, omnipresent, and has all power in heaven and earth, is not called Θεός merely because he is high and venerable, but in a far different sense from that in which magistrates and angels are said to be gods.

There are also many passages in which God is said to convert and renew men. Hence arises a *doctrinal* ambiguity, whether this is said concerning God immediately or not. The words Θεός φωτίζει, Θεός ἐπιερεσει will bear both senses. But it is found in other places more definitely, that God converts men by teaching, as 2 Pet. i. Thus the ambiguity is solved by analogy.

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**HENRICUS EHRENFRIED WARNEKROS,**

ON THE

**Fertility of Palestine.**

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**HENRICUS EHRENFRIED WARNEKROS,**

ON THE

## **Fertility of Palestine.**

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(Concluded from page 197.)

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### § XIV. *Mount Libanus contributes much to the fertility of Palestine.*

We must not suppose that Palestine has as much rain as our region ; still there is enough to render the earth fruitful : and mount Libanus contributes much to the fertility. For in the Spring,\* when the snows of this mountain melt, the river Jordan is swelled, and overflows the land, thereby rendering it fertile. *Libanus* is three leagues distant from Tripoli, in the lower part of which the *fountain of gurdens* (Cant. iv. 15,) has its rise. This fountain appears small at its source, but within a small space it so increases, as to make a large river in the plain of Tripoli, and by it the gardens are watered. Between Vena and the sea of Galilee there is a valley, into which the Jordan runs when the snows of Libanus melt in the spring, and a collection of water takes place in the valley, which in the Scriptures is called the *Waters of Merom*. This is the place where Joshua fought with Jabin and twenty-four other kings, and obtaining the victory, pursued them even to the waters of Masserephot. So we read in the xi. chap. of Jos. Joshua and all his army with him, went

\* *La Roque's Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Libanus*, p. 66, 186.

out against these kings at the *Waters of Meron*, and rushed upon them, and the Lord delivered them to him. Which collection of waters, in the heat of summer for the most part dries up, and trees and herbs, like a wood, grow so thickly, that lions, bears, and other wild animals, conceal themselves there, according to *Saligniac*, *Brectenbach*, *Cotovicus*, and others. *Pliny*\* says, the river *Jordan* arises from the fountain *Panias* ;† it is a pleasant stream, and its current is swift. It runs into the lake *Asphaltites*, where it mingles its sweet waters with the impure water of the lake. *Solinus* says the same thing, and affirms that Judea has excellent water : and of all its streams, the river *Jordan* has the sweetest water. It descends from the fountain *Panias*, passes through a very pleasant country, and is lost in the corrupt water of the lake *Asphaltites*.

With regard to the size of the river *Jordan*, there are various opinions and different representations. Some assert that it is very broad, others that it is narrow. These different opinions arise from its having been visited at different seasons of the year. For in the months of September and October, the rivers of Palestine are neither deep nor rapid ; but on the contrary, very small and languid in their course. Let us produce the authority of some of the authors. *Bellonius*‡ affirms, that the river *Jordan*, which runs from north to south, is so narrow that a boy can throw a stone across it ; nor is the channel sufficiently deep for a ship to sail in it. *Schultz*§ reckons the depth of the *Jordan* to be five or six cubits, and its breadth such, that he who would throw a stone across it, must use all his

\* Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 15.

† *Stephanus*, in his *Epitome de Urbibus*, says, *Panias* is a cave of Palestine, whence flows the *Jordan*. *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud. lib. xiii.* and *de Bello Jud. lib. iii. c. 16.* says, *Panias* is a very pleasant cave in the mountain, and it contains a cavity full of stagnant water. In this cave the *Jordan* has its source.

‡ *Observat. lib. ii. cap. 86.*

§ *Leitungen des Höchsten auf seinen Reisen, &c. T. v. p. 90.*

strength. *Pococke* and *Shaw*\* have presented us with the most accurate description. The latter affirms that the breadth of the Jordan is ninety feet, and its depth at the very shore nine feet. *Pococke* asserts, that its breadth is equal to that of the Thames of England at Windsor, but its rapidity is much greater. The Thames is there one Italic mile wide. And this I suppose to be the general width of the Jordan, although I would not deny that it may be wider, when the snows of Libanus are melting and flowing into it.

This lofty mountain, Libanus, is never entirely free from snow. Some assert the contrary, but the testimony of Tacitus† is to the point. And *Maundrell* corroborates his testimony, where he says that he travelled for six hours through the snow on mount Libanus, in the month of May. He was then far from the highest top of the mountain, and yet he found abundance of snow. *Phillippus a Sancta Trinitate*‡ states, that in October he saw the remains of the snow in Libanus; but in the end of November, the whole mountain was white with snow. From which circumstance, this mountain is called by the *Samaritans* and *Chaldeans*, שׁוֹר תְּלֵגָא, that is, the *Mountain of Snow*. The Arabians call it by the same name. *Jonathan*, in the Chaldee Paraphrase,§ says, that Libanus is never without snow. There is, therefore, snow at all times on Libanus, and the heat of the sun can never overcome the cold of its lofty tops. The prophet Jeremiah has said the same thing, xviii. 14. This is a very difficult place, on which the commentators have expended much labour and sweat, and formed very different opinions. Let us attempt to make this very obscure place more clear. The

\* *Pococke's* description of the East, Vol. ii. P. i. p. 69. *Shaw's Travels*, &c. p. 373.

† *Histor. lib. v. cap. 6.*

‡ *In Itinerario, lib. iii. cap. 2.*

§ *Ad Deut. ix. 1.*

words of the text are, **היעזב מצור שרי שלג לבנון  
אסינתשו מים זרים קרים נזולים.**

In the beginning of this passage, there are several difficulties; the construction of the word **עזב** with the preposition **מ**, is unusual, and not to be found any where else; and afterward, what is the *rock of the field and the cold flowing waters that come from another place*? The LXX. render it as follows, *μη εκλειψσσι απο πετρας μαςοι η χιωσ απο τσ λιβανσ, μη εκλινη υδωσ ββαιωσ ανεμω φερομενον.* In the same manner the *Syriac* translates it. From which interpretation, it appears that they derive the word **זרים** from the root **זרם**, which signifies to *overflow*. The *Vulgate* translation is, shall the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of the land? or can the cold waters, breaking forth and flowing out, be taken away? Which is a literal translation of the Hebrew text, and yet it is without sense. Our more recent translators differ greatly, not at all recollecting that there is here a parallelism of phrases, a mode of expression very common to all the oriental languages, which if we consider, will throw much light on this place; and it is very evident that the two members of this verse imply one and the same thing—so that the *snow of Lebanon*, and the *foreign waters* denote the same. The word **מצור** still remains, and presents a great difficulty. If we retain the consonants and vowel points in the order in which they are placed by the Masorites, the sense of this place will be, can the snow thus leave mount Libanus as to flow over the land? But the word *land* does not seem to suit this place, and it greatly diminishes the force of the whole description; for if the snow of Libanus should melt and flow over the adjacent land only, that would be but a trifling circumstance; but it is manifest, from the journals and geographies, that it runs into the Jordan and the Orontes, by which they are greatly increased. Therefore I consider the word **מצור** as a false reading, although the ancient interpreters and manuscripts



give me no other, and the explications of the modern writers do not satisfy me. Therefore, if it is right to pronounce an opinion in the midst of so much darkness and obscurity, I would prefer the word **מְקוֹר**, which means a fountain ;—then there would be no difficulty, and this reading would make the best sense, and be very suitable to the whole description. This is a mere conjecture, and supported by no authority from the old interpreters, and by no manuscripts ; but it appears so probable, that I must consider it as the true reading. I would then translate this passage in the following manner : *can the snow of Lebanon leave the fountain of the land ? or can the waters from abroad permit the running streams to be dried up ?*

I need not apologize for using **יִנְתֵּשׁ** Fut. Con. Pual, instead of **יִנְתֵּשׁוּ**, Fut. Cong. Niphal ; for I think it beyond dispute, that the vowel points were added to the text about the sixth or seventh century ; and therefore, if they are improperly placed, and contrary to the analogy, we are bound to change them.

From the arguments brought forward, it is evident that mount Libanus is never free from snow. Still many in our times deny this, on the grounds of the testimony of *Shultz*,\* who roundly asserts that Libanus is not covered with snow, but with white stones, which at a distance resembles snow. He says that he was at first deceived with the appearance ; but when he ascended the mountain, he discovered that he had not seen snow, but white stones. But shall the testimony of one writer, without any support, be esteemed of greater weight than that of many writers, and of those who are esteemed the first authority. The evidence of *Abulfeda* yet remains, who describes Libanus as never free from snow. The whole mistake arises from this fact, that *Shultz* has not distinguished

\* In *Descriptione Syriæ*, p. 162.

between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; for the eastern mountain, under whose high top the Jordan takes its rise, is called *Antilibanus* by the Greek and Roman writers, who make frequent mention of it; and many have thought that *Shultz* had reference to this mountain. But the opposite mountain, west of this and near the Mediterranean, and triangular in its form, is called *Libanus*; and this is the mountain which *Schultz* visited. It is covered with cedars and white stones as *La Roque* informs us. *Schultz* did not visit *Antilibanus*. *Rauwolf*\* informs us, that the snow of this mountain is carried in large quantities to Tripoli, and that it is there kept for sale during the whole summer, and used for cooling their drink. According to the testimony of *Soligniac*,† the valleys of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* are highly cultivated; they are rich in pastures, vineyards, gardens, orchards, &c. The inhabitants of these valleys are of various nations—Arminians, Greeks, Nestorians, Georgians, &c., who call themselves Christians, and belong to the Roman church.

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#### § XV. *The division of the rains in Palestine.*

There are two seasons in particular in Palestine, when rain is expected; and these rains are called יורה and מלקוש, that is, the *former* and the *latter* rain, from the season of the year when it falls. According to our division of the year, they might be called the *autumnal* (for the civil year among the Jews commences with the month Tissi in autumn,) and the *vernal* (in the month Abib, which is the beginning of the spring.) The Bible makes frequent mention of these rains.‡ The best description of

\* In seiner Morgenländischen Reise, p. 282.

† In Descript. Terræ Sanctæ, P. i. cap. 4. § 5.

‡ Conf. Deut. xi. 14. Jer. iii. 3. v. 24. Hos. vi. 3. Joel ii. 23. Zach. x. 1: *Lightfoot's* Hor. Ebr. ad Sac. iv. 36.

them may be found in *Shaw*\* and *Russel*.† In Palestine and Aleppo, the weather is very uniform in summer, and for several months no rain falls. In the month of September, they are visited with showers for a short season; and afterwards the weather becomes clear for thirty days. At the end of this time, the heavy and long continued rains set in, which are called in Hebrew יורה, in Greek *εργιμος*, in Latin *Matutina* or *tempestiva*, *early* or *timely*; for the rain falls after the sowing of the grain. After this they have no showers until the end of the month of March, at which time the rain descends again. This precedes the harvest, and quickens the growth of the grain, by filling up the ears in the stalks. It is called גולקוש, in Greek *οψιμος*, in Latin *serotina*, *latter*.

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#### § XVI. *Palestine abounds in plants.*

The Bible proves that Palestine produces a great variety of plants; and no one can deny that the sacred writers were extensively acquainted with the subject, and that they had carefully examined the mysteries of nature. *Celsius*, a classic author on this subject, enumerates two hundred and fifty species of plants, of which mention is made in the Scriptures. *Gesner* has also written on this subject, and has displayed much knowledge in the science of botany. Still there is much ignorance on this subject, and the difficulty of arriving at the truth is very great. Had *Gesner*, so extensively acquainted with other branches, been equally skilled in the knowledge of the Oriental languages, what a flood of light might he have thrown on the natural history of the Bible! It is said of Egypt, that nature has denied to it much variety both of plants and animals; but

\* Travels and Observat. pag. 336.

† Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, pag. 14.

Palestine abounds in both. The fields are like gardens in which grow a great variety of plants and flowers. There are to be found cedars, citron trees, lemon trees, and amarantths of the sweetest odour, which may be seen on the trees all the year round. The common apple, however, the pear, the cherry, and the nut, are not generally to be met with, according to *Saligniac*.\* I know no other cause for this, except that the inhabitants have not been accustomed to cultivate them. The land appears to be as favourable for apples and nuts, as for figs. These fruits are brought to them from Damascus, but they cannot be preserved long. The *palm* tree is common not only to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other Oriental regions, but to many parts of Italy. The palm tree in Egypt is very small, and its fruit in many places is not fit to eat, especially at the Delta and Alexandria. In Thebais it flourishes better than in any other part of Egypt.

The palm tree is always green, whence it is called *αειφυλλος*. It is a very beautiful tree, and of great use; whence the ancient Babylonians reckoned three hundred and sixty uses of it, according to *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Cælius*.† Hence the inhabitants of the Moldine islands, when they wish to praise a man, say, that he is more useful than the palm tree.

Judea, especially in its early times, was famous for the palm tree; although those who have lately visited that country find very few at this day. The travellers to Palestine give us different accounts. *Radzivil* and *Cotovic* affirm, that many palm trees are yet to be found there, but *Doubdan* says there are very few. In examining the books of the Old Testament, we find frequent mention of the palm tree. In the Arabian desert, near *Elim*, the Israelites had seventy palm trees, as we read in Num.

\* In Itinerario Terræ Sanctæ, lib. i. p. 2. cap. 1.

† In Antiq. Lect. lib. v. cap. 6.

xxxiii. 9.\* At this time, palm trees may be found in that place. Deborah the prophetess dwelt under the palm trees. Jericho abounds with this tree, whence it is called the *city of palms*. *Strabo* says, the plain of Jericho is surrounded with mountains; there is a palm grove, having other trees scattered through it, but abounding in palm trees for one hundred stadia, well watered and filled with habitations; which place Herod purchased for a palm grove, at a great price, from Cleopatra, to whom Anthony had presented it as a splendid gift.

Many others, as *Tacitus*, *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Josephus*, testify that Jericho formerly abounded in palms. There is another reason why Judea appears to have been very rich in palms. That region is represented under the emblem of that tree; for hieroglyphics were taken for the most part from things which a country produced in great abundance. On the coins of *Titus*, the image of that country is to be seen, bound to a palm tree, with the inscription IVD. CAP.

The *Sycamore* tree is a native of Egypt, whence, according to *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, it is called the *Egyptian Fig tree*. It has, however, flourished in other regions, and especially in Palestine. It flourishes best in open plains.† It is a large tree, containing many branches. It is a species of the fig tree, and its leaves resemble those of the mulbary tree. It does not grow from the seed, but is propagated by the branch. It abounds in sap, and produces much fruit. Its fruit grows in a peculiar manner, not on the extremities of the boughs, as in other trees, but near the trunk. Its size is about that of the fig, though it differs from that in not having seed within. It

\* Conf. *J. C. Ulrick* de decem fontibus et septuaginta palmis ab Israelitis in Elim repertis.

† 1 Kings x. 27. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. 2 Chron. i. 15. Conf. *Relandi Palestina*, p. 1024.



is very sweet and pleasant to the taste. It does not ripen without being plucked and placed in oil. The use of figs is injurious to the stomach, it relaxes and weakens it. But figs may be eaten with impunity by those who have been heated by travelling, or exposure to the sun, and who need cooling and moisture. They are not of great value as food, but are eaten considerably by the poor.\* This fruit, however, and the flower of the tree, are of considerable importance as a medicine. Wine and vinegar are also made out of it.

The wood of this tree will not decay for many ages, whence it was used by the ancient Egyptians for coffins. The ancients used it for building houses and ships.

\* Amos vii. 14.

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ON THE

Population of Palestine;

FROM

**MICHAELIS' LAW OF MOSES.**

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## POPULATION OF PALESTINE.

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### § 1. *Could Palestine contain as many inhabitants as Moses proposed to settle in it?*

The population of a country does not belong to the subject of political law; because a lawgiver cannot determine or fix it, by statutes, but to its historico-political description. The reader, however, will not be displeased to find here some remarks on this point as an appendix to the preceding Articles; more especially as so many doubts have been started as to the number of citizens sometimes ascribed to the Israelitish state in the course of their history. But indeed the number of fighting men mentioned by Moses himself, has a closer relation to the object of the present work than at first appears: for if to them he has assigned for a habitation a country included within certain limits, and incapable of supporting so great a number, his laws must be considered as deficient in those principles that are acknowledged as incontrovertible by the universal sense of mankind: more especially as their chief object was the still farther increase of population, and as withal he had established his policy on this principle of agriculture, that every citizen was to possess his own hereditary land unalienably. In a state depending for its prosperity solely on trade or manufactures, it is of no moment whether the land be sufficient to support the people or not; (Holland here furnishes a remarkable example,) but the Israelites were to live, not by trade, but by husbandry, which rendered it indispensably requisite that there should

be a just proportion between the extent and fertility of the land, and the number of the inhabitants.

Moses has left an accurate enumeration of the Israelites. The men able to bear arms somewhat exceeded 600,000; and, including the Levites, amounted to nearly 620,000. If, according to the usual principle of calculation, we admit the whole people, women and children included, to have been four times as many, we shall then have nearly 2,500,000 souls for the amount of the population; that is, about 500,000 more than Busching gives to the kingdom of Sweden. Yet we must add something further on account of Polygamy and slavery, although these only took place in the families of the more opulent; and I should therefore think that, upon the whole, the number of people that Moses had to carry into Palestine, could not have been less than 3,000,000. Now the question is, Was it possible, within the limits of Palestine, to find hereditary possessions and support for so prodigious a population?

No doubt if we include all the country from beyond Jordan to the Euphrates, there was quite room enough for three millions. But Moses' first object was to bring the whole people into the country this side Jordan, and to leave the nations on the Arabian side of it unmolested, if they granted him free passage into Palestine. The Israelites were not to continue wandering herdsmen, but to learn every one to love and improve his own allotted and hereditary fields: and even after the conquest of some of the kingdoms beyond Jordan, none but the two tribes and a half, which could not muster quite 120,000 men, received their settlements there; so that still 500,000 men able to bear arms, or in other words, a population of about two millions and a half, were to be provided for in the small territory on this side that river. Was this possible? Palestine, as to its extent and limits, is not so perfectly known as that I can venture on the mensuration of it in German square miles. But any one who measures it but slightly



on the map will admit, that the part on this side Jordan could not contain less than 300, nor more than 400 German square miles. Now, distributing 500,000 fighting men, or 2,500,000 souls over that extent, each square mile would include about 1500 warriors, or from 6,000 to 7,000 people. This seems to be too great a number; because allowing that every man would thus have 20 acres allotted him for his support, still there are in every country many pieces of ground quite useless: and besides, people have many more wants than that of bread-corn alone. The whole Prussian territories, including the very populous province of Silesia, had, before the last war, in the year 1756, about 4,700,000 inhabitants; and therefore, exclusive of foreign mercenaries, 1,175,000 natives able to bear arms. They contain, according to Busching's calculation, 3000 German square miles, although in many districts the soil is not fertile, they might undoubtedly support a much greater population, because corn is exported. Agriculture is also improving, and many places, in which the king endeavours to get foreigners to settle, are susceptible of cultivation; but still, how great the difference between 1,200,000 men able to bear arms, on 3,000 square miles, and 500,000, on 300 or 400? Supposing Prussia so much improved as to maintain 1,500 men on a square mile, it would altogether maintain no less than 4,500,000; and women and children included, at least 18,000,000 of people. But will any man conceive such a degree of improvement practicable? Nay, though I had here made a mistake in the number of square miles, and they did not quite amount to 3,000, the difficulty would still remain very weighty.

In order, therefore, to remove this objection to the possibility of Moses having been able to put the very first and most important of all his laws in execution, I must beg the reader's attention to the following remarks.

In the *first* place, it will be allowed from what has been said, in the preceding chapter, on the geography of Pales-

tine, that even the promised land, strictly so called, was more extensive than our maps make it. A good part of Lebanon, with the fruitful vales that intersect it, ought to be included in it; and the ten tribes and a half on this side Jordan, extended their settlements a good way southward into Arabia.

In the *second* place, Palestine is represented by Moses as a remarkably fertile country; in which the best modern travellers, particularly Dr. Shaw,\* entirely agree with him. I cannot enter into the dispute that has arisen on this point; but it seems to me that we may fairly admit the testimony of Moses as valid. He had himself sent spies into the country, and was at pains to obtain satisfactory information as to its nature; and these spies, not excepting those who excited the Israelites to mutiny against him, gave their testimony to its extreme fertility. Had all this then been untrue, and Palestine as barren as some modern writers would insinuate, Moses, in designing to introduce so great a multitude into it, and to establish a state on the agricultural system, would have shown himself not only an impostor, but also a fool; and *that*, not even his enemies are wont to account him. Those who describe Palestine as unfruitful, appeal to the evidence of Greek and Latin authors; but the passages which they adduce, refer only to the country around Jerusalem; and what land is there that has not some barren spots? But of the country in general, Tacitus, the most creditable of all the classic authors, says, on the other hand, that it is as fertile as Italy. His words are, (Hist. v. 6.) *Rari imbres, uber solum. Exuberant fruges, nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, Balsamum at Palmæ.* Considering the time when it was given, this is a pretty favourable testimony. The country about Jerusalem was no doubt ill adapted for tillage; but its vineyards and olive-grounds highly enriched it. Allowing, however,

\* See p. 336, 337, of the English edition of 1757.

that it had been absolutely barren, that was not the case with the whole of Palestine. The great Arabian geographer, Abulfeda, king of Hama in Syria, who in his journey to Egypt had certainly been in Palestine, says, even in the 13th century, that *Palestine is the most fertile part of Syria*;\* and concerning the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, described by Strabo as very barren, he does not indeed deny its want of water,† but still declares it to be *one of the most fruitful parts of Palestine*.‡ Now should we not put more faith in this native Syrian writer, than in a foreigner, who, though an excellent geographer, had never been in Palestine himself? From the present situation of that country, for now more than a thousand years laid waste by war, and the tyranny of barbarians, no conclusion can be drawn to its times of culture. Having been cultivated like a garden, and, according to Maundrell's remark, the cold rocks being by the hand of industry covered with soil, and thus made fertile, it cannot but have become very unlike itself, after seventeen hundred years devastation; and if the vine was one of the chief bounties which nature had bestowed upon it, it is easy to see how much it must have suffered by its non-cultivation for more than ten centuries, under the dominion of the Mahometans, to whom wine is interdicted. But, independent of these circumstances, let any man consider the present state of Germany with respect to cultivation, and the descriptions which Cæsar and Tacitus have left of this

\* See Abulfeda *Tabulæ Syriæ*, p. 9. Köler's edit.

† See p. 10. of the same book. "Jerusalem has, some springs excepted, no water, at least not enough to water corn-fields." But the country is not therefore barren; for in the first place, it consists not of corn-fields, but of vineyards and olive-grounds; and in the next place, Abulfeda himself had said, a little before, that Palestine was supplied with water from rain, and had its corn and trees watered from heaven. And this, in the East, they account far preferable to artificial irrigation.—See Deut. xi. 10, 11, and my remark upon it.

‡ P. 10. of the same work.

now so extremely fertile country, and he will be sensible, that if from these it could never have been conceived, that Germany could by culture have become what it now is ; so from the descriptions of desolated Palestine, its former situation, in the times when agriculture and industry flourished, can by no means be judged of. What that really was, may be seen in a very remarkable passage of Josephus, (*De Bello Jud. Lib. III. cap. 3*) who knew it when in its glory, before the Roman war. That passage where, in a particular manner, the fertility, cultivation, and prodigious population of Galilee, are described, is, however, too long for quotation here.

In the *third* place, as every Israelite had his land altogether his own, and could inclose and use it as he chose, except in the seventh year ; and as, by the herds being driven into the deserts, common pasturage occasioned no obstruction or damage to individual proprietors ; Palestine could thus sustain a greater population than a country equally good, in which, from the rights of *common*, they are prevented from making the best possible use of their fields.

In the *last* place, a country of equal fertility in the 32d degree of latitude, will support more inhabitants than in the 51st. Our colder countries require extensive spaces for woods ; and if, for each man able to bear arms, I reckon only four cords of wood yearly, (each 216 cubic feet) how much space will be necessarily occupied with timber, where 2,000,000 of cords must be annually felled ? In a warm climate, very little wood is required for fuel, and in Palestine that article was actually very scarce.—Again, how much more wool and linen do we require for our clothing than the inhabitants of Palestine ? These wants occasion the occupation of a great deal of land, in raising flax and sheep. The Israelites most probably had more wool than they could consume ; and of course had it in

their power to manufacture and sell it to strangers,\* and with the monies thence arising, purchase articles which their own country did not produce in sufficient abundance.—Farther, a country lying in a climate somewhat better than ours, admits the planting of vineyards, and finds drink to its inhabitants on the hills, which with us are barren, or at best adapted only for wood. We, on the contrary, must employ a part of our best land in raising barley, which furnishes our principal drink.—Once more, in the 32d degree of latitude, the same ground, treated as a garden, may be cropped oftener within the year, than with us; an advantage for which Moses expressly celebrates Palestine in Deut. xxxiii. 14.

It will perhaps appear somewhat trifling to observe, that people in southern climates are satisfied with less food than in northern: but it is nevertheless very certain, and well known from church history, (see Mosheim's *Institutiones Hist. Eccl.* p. 168,) that on the introduction of the Asiatic fasts, the stomachs of the French were very differently affected from those of Egyptians. But it is more important to remark, that the industry of husbandmen in countries where rain rarely falls, and where the fields must be artificially watered, far surpasses any thing that our farmers exhibit. There they learn to make use of every foot of land: they cover the naked rocks with earth, and raise walls to prevent showers from washing it away. In those parts of Switzerland where vines can be reared, we see numberless examples of this most laudable economy; and that Palestine was anciently cultivated in the same manner, Maundrell discovered many traces in the course of his travels.—This is sufficient to justify the law of Moses, who designed to provide at least 480,000 men able to bear arms, with land on this side Jordan. When in process of time the population increased, they had it in their power

\* That this actually took place, we see from Prov. xxxi. 24.



to settle colonies in those parts of Arabia, till then only used for pasturage, where water was somewhat abundant, (for in such a climate, the very sand is fertile, where water is found ;) or else in the valleys of Mount Lebanon ; and that this was actually done, we learn from 1 Chron. iv. 39—42, and from Judges, chap. xviii.

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§ 2. *Concerning the later enumerations of the Israelites.*

Having said thus much concerning the numbers of the Israelites in the time of Moses, as my readers may have the curiosity to make some enquiries concerning the later enumerations of that people, I will for their satisfaction add a few particulars relative thereto, though not strictly belonging to the illustration of the Mosaic law. Those to whom it may be irksome to read what is not indispensably necessary on this subject, may pass over the following paragraphs.

The enumerations made by Moses are those alone in which we can with certainty confide. In the time of the Judges, we find in all Israel only 426,700 men able to bear arms ; and during a short war carried on with great fury, they became 66,000 fewer, (Judg. xx. 2, 15, 17, &c.) Saul could not bring more than 330,000 men together.\* But whether, on either of these occasions, those residing in the more distant parts towards the Euphrates, were included, is uncertain ; and at Saul's command, the tribe of Judah, whereof he found only 32,000 men, appears to have come forward very sparingly ; for Saul seems in general to have had but little authority over that tribe. Nor is it at all to be wondered that the population should have diminished

\* 1 Sam. xi. 8. There is great variety of lection as to the numbers in this passage, concerning which see the *Orientalische Bibliothek*, Part v. p. 247. I here follow the common text.

during so many unsuccessful wars, and those too, with nations who made slaves of their prisoners, and by carrying off young women, rendered the number of marriages less among the vanquished.

The next enumeration was the celebrated one undertaken by David. From the command issued by him, from the time of nine months allotted for carrying it into effect, and from the words of 2 Sam. xxiv. 1—8, we clearly see, that this census, or rather enrollment, comprehended the people in the most remote places, even in the Syrian and Arabian deserts; only that the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the two weakest of all, are said to have been spared, 1 Chron. xxi. 6. The great amount of the numbers need not therefore appear incredible, because between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, even more might have found room. It would, however, have been impossible that in the course of one generation, the whole people, *by births alone*, should have increased from 330,000 to more than a million; or that the tribe of Judah, if in Saul's time (1 Sam. xi. 8.) it could really muster only 32,000 men, should now, by births alone, have amounted to 500,000. But it would appear that many who had before, by reason of the bad times, retired into foreign lands, or had been carried away as slaves, had now returned again under David's reign;\* and besides, many proselytes from the conquered countries might be included. But we can by no means fully rely on the numbers given. For no man who has critically perused the books of Samuel, in the last chapter of the second of which this enumeration is related, will hesitate to admit, that many parts of them, but above all the two last chapters, have come to us somewhat disfigured. But the books of Chronicles are in general more carelessly copied than any of the other books of the Bible, and not to be depended upon, as to the accu-

\* See my Dissertation, *De pretiis Rerum apud Hebræos*, § 10.

racy of the numbers which they give, and which appear indeed somewhat incredible. Add to this, that in regard to the numbers in question, these two books do not accord. For Joab found,

According to Samuel,	800,000 in Israel—Chronicles,	1,100,000
	500,000 in Judah,	470,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,300,000	1,570,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

which numbers I know not how to reconcile. The tribe of Judah, according to both, is prodigiously strong; very probably because most of the proselytes attached themselves to the tribe to which the king belonged, when they desired to participate in the civil rights of the Israelites, while they adopted their religion.

But even according to the least number, the people of Israel, women and children included, amounted to more than 5,000,000; about as many as the Prussian states at present contain.\* And yet these were not all the subjects that David could boast; for we must add 150,000 tributary Canaanites, with their wives and children; as also the conquered nations, at least those among them who had not by circumcision become Israelites; and the slaves, who might, however, chiefly belong to the conquered nations. If partiality towards the Jewish state, has not greatly magnified these numbers, David must certainly have been a very powerful prince, but still not to be compared with an Egyptian monarch.

The number of the Israelites under Jeroboam and Abijah, which is mentioned, 2 Chron. xiii. 3, is pretty nearly the same with that under David, if we only suppose that all who could bear arms were present in one battle. For the ten tribes mustered 800,000; and Judah, with Benjamin,

\* I must here remind the reader that I wrote this in 1770, and therefore spoke of the *then* Prussian states. But now, that West Prussia must be taken into the account, their population will be considerably augmented.

400,000. But these numbers are manifestly any thing but accurate; for the battle to which they relate, wherein 500,000 men are stated to have fallen, could never have been so bloody but by the mistake of transcribers.\*

The list of fighting men, 2 Chron. xvii. 14—18, belonging to the kingdom of Judah alone, under Jehoshaphat, being no less than 1,160,000, looks likewise suspicious, by reason of its great amount; which may be very reasonably ascribed to errors in transcription, more especially, as about a century after, in the reign of Uzziah, only 307,500, able to bear arms, could be mustered, (2 Chron. xxvi. 13); and *that* at a time when all the citizens were obliged to defend their country. In short, all the enumerations of the Israelites and Jews, subsequent to the time of Moses, are from the faults of transcribers uncertain, or manifestly erroneous.

\* See Syntagma Comment. P. I. 13, 14, and Kennicott's Second Dissertation, p. 197, &c.

The reader will observe that an error has occurred in numbering the pages, 339 being made immediately to follow 328. This mistake was not discovered until several sheets had been printed. It was therefore deemed advisable not to correct the error, but to allow the paging to run on regularly. The present number, therefore, is paged to 460, whereas it should properly extend no further than 450.



# Remarks

UPON A

## NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

&c. &c.

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(Concluded from page 391.)

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### CHAP. VI.

*Uniformity of sense in Scripture preserved by tradition. Vowels and accents applied to the text in conformity with the traditional readings. Cappellus supposes these readings to have been preserved by the use of the matres lectionis before the invention of vowels. Version of Aquila conformable with the Masoretical text, as well with respect to vowels as to consonants. Various vowel readings of the Septuagint, contrasted with those of Aquila. Singular reading of the Septuagint Isaiah ix. 6. Theodotio's Version less conformable with the Masoretical text, than Aquila's. Masoretical readings genuine. No other edition of the Hebrew text extant. Griesback's mode of detecting different editions. Masoretical text long anterior to the date of our most ancient MSS. incontrovertibly more than thirteen centuries old. Marks the distinction of words and supplies correct pauses. A similar copy of the New Testament, if of high antiquity, would be greatly valued.*

ADMITTING then, that the Bible was originally written, and published, without vowels and accents of every description, how, we may be asked, has the genuine sense of

the text been preserved? *Elias the Levite*, the great Jewish advocate for the more modern invention of the points, answers; *by tradition*.

It is universally allowed, that the canon of Scripture was finally settled by Ezra after the return from the Babylonian captivity; and we are told, that Levites appointed to the office "caused the people to understand the law," and that "they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading."\* I quote this passage merely to point out, if not the commencement, at least the revival, of the practice of reading the Scriptures publicly to the people. Nor will it perhaps be disputed, that this practice, which the New Testament proves not to have been disused in our Saviour's time, has been continued down to the present day. If therefore the books of Scripture have been constantly read in the synagogue from the period of their republication by Ezra, must not that reading have been always marked by some established, as well as appropriate, distinction of vowels? And would not one generation scrupulously teach another the same discrimination of sense in the way alluded to, which it had itself learnt from the generation preceding it? This is precisely still the case. For the daily readers in the synagogue, using an unpointed copy, are under the necessity of themselves supplying the vowels memoriter by established rules, which they have been taught by others. Now indeed the task of previous instruction is indisputably facilitated by the adoption of the Masoretical system; but simple as the characteristic notation of vowels by the mere application of points to the consonants appears to be, can we reasonably conceive, that so many ages could have elapsed from the days of Ezra to those of the persons usually termed the *Maso-*

\* Nehemiah viii. 3.

*rets of Tiberias*, without any attempt at a similar notation, for so important a purpose, of some kind or other ?

An *uniformity* of reading, I do not mean in pronunciation, (for the pronunciation of one race of Jews differs from that of another,) but in sense, effected by the use of appropriate vowels, must have always prevailed in every synagogue; and among a people, so vain of their national religion, and so superstitiously attached to their sacred books, any innovation of meaning in the public reading of those books, for the purpose of religious instruction, could never surely have been tolerated. In the same manner as the Fathers of the existing synagogue had themselves been taught, would their sons be taught, to read them; and so on through successive generations. It is indeed possible that this uniformity might sometimes have been disturbed in particular instances by conceit, or ignorance; but innovations of the kind alluded to could not have been very considerable either in number or in importance. For had a diversity of reading obtained in different synagogues and in different countries, history surely would have recorded something like opposition to the Masoretical attempt of fixing the sense of Scripture by an undeviating standard of characteristic vowels. But nothing of this description remains on record; a convincing argument, I apprehend, that the application of the Masoretical vowels was in perfect conformity with that sense of the text, which had always been taught, and was universally approved, whether preserved, in the preparatory instruction for the public service of the synagogue, by mere oral tradition, or by the use of a vowel system less refined and more imperfect.

It seems therefore, that the Masoretical, or received Hebrew, text, comprising as well vowels as consonants, affords a traditional sense of Scripture more accurate, than is to be elsewhere found. Its vowel system, whether only a refinement upon one previously in use, or altoget-

ther a new invention, appears to have been originally admitted into it in perfect conformity with readings founded upon established usage. That the readings indeed expressed by the vowels had been always precisely the same, without having ever experienced the minutest variation, it would be absurd to affirm; for that would not have been the case, had even such vowels been added to the text by the inspired writers themselves; but that a general uniformity of reading, traditionally delivered down, prevailed at the time of their being added to it, whensoever that time really was, will not perhaps be controverted.

Indeed the latter point alluded to is not denied by those who contend, that the existing vowel system was altogether unknown, until after the completion of the Babylonian Talmud about the year 500. Nor do they argue that before that period no substitute whatsoever for the distinct notation of vowels was in use. On the other hand they maintain, that the place of points in the art of instruction was supplied by what are known under the name of *mātres lectionis*. But let us hear the great authority upon the question, Cappellus himself. In answer to an opponent he says; *Pugnat Bootius adversus umbram suam, sive somnium et commentum. Quis enim illi negat aliquam fuisse apud Hebræos, ante Masorethas, rationem legendi et intelligendi Hebraica non punctata? Annon legit Arcanum meum? Videat lib. i. cap. 18, 19, ubi totam illam rationem fuse satis totis illis capitibus explico. Literæ nempe ׀ן multis in locis supplebant locum vocalium, ac lectorem linguæ Hebraicæ peritum juvabant, adhibita attenda vocum singularum in serie orationis consideratione, per quam vocum extra seriem orationis positarum homonymia tollitur.\** And in the chapters of his

\* *Critica Sacra*, Vol. iii. p. 574.

*Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, extending from p. 157, to p. 186, *Cappellus* enters into a minute detail of the manner in which he supposes the *matres lectionis* were used to supply the place of vowels before the invention of the points. He likewise admits the position of *traditional readings* transmitted through successive generations by the use of these *matres lectionis* to the days of the Masorets, whose complete knowledge of such traditional readings, and profound skill in the language itself enabled them, he imagines, to establish their novel system upon a firm and steady basis. He expressly observes; *longe maxima ex parte eam, quæ vocales spectat, lectionem secuti sint, quæ tum inter Judæos recepta erat, quæque potest ex lingnæ proprio genio, et ex antecedentium et consequentium, &c., consideratione certissime demonstrari.\** Again; *Ex superioribus satis constet, et olim in Arcano punctationis a nobis singulari disputatione probatum sit, puncta, et accentus a Masorethis, post annum a Christo nato quingentesimum, consonantibus in Hebræo Veteris Testamenti textu esse addita, prout vel ipsi omnibus prepensis et pensiculate examinatis, judicarunt optimum, vel prout a magistris per traditionem πατροπαράδοτον edocti fuerant.†* Thus likewise in his *Arcanum punctationis* he briefly remarks; *cujus rationis [viz. legendi Hebraica non punctata] cum periti essent Masorethæ, lectionem sacram, quam tenebant, et edocti erant, excogitatis vocalium et accentuum figuris expresserunt.‡*

Upon the whole then it appears, by the admission of the very writers themselves, who carry up the invention of the points no higher than to the commencement of the sixth century, that the readings then established were of still greater antiquity. Whether these readings had been preserved, as *Cappellus* conjectures, by the mere use of the *matres lectionis*, or, which I confess seems to me

\* *Critica Sacra*, Vol. iii. p. 377.

† Vol. ii. p. 938.

‡ Page. 281



more probable, by a more simple system of points than the Masoretical, is not of importance to my enquiry : I only contend for the *fact*, that the Masoretical readings were more ancient than the period assigned for their universal reception.

I have already remarked, that *Eichorn*, from the striking conformity of the Masoretical text with that of *Aquila*, carries up its antiquity to the *first* century of the Christian æra. He conceives that we possess sufficient data to prove its existence even at so remote a period ; but that higher than this we cannot from a defect of data proceed with certainty. He does not indeed speak of the Masoretical vowels, but simply of the Masoretical text, which he probably confines to the consonants. There seems however I apprehend little reason to doubt the conformity of the two texts not only in consonants, but also in vowels. It is indeed true, that scattered fragments alone of *Aquila's* version are come down to us ; yet if these are sufficient to indicate the resemblance of his text to the Masoretical in the former instance, so likewise may they be in the latter. Now *Cappellus* has furnished us with such various readings as he was able to collect from the fragments of *Aquila*, as well as of the other Greek versions, from whence a comparison of the kind may be instituted. After noticing certain variations in the vowels, he adds the following remark : Hæc pauca sunt circa puncta lectionis exempla, quæ nos observavimus ex fragmentis Aquilæ, Symmachi, Theodotionis, &c., versionum. Si integras jam haberemus translationes, dubium non est, quin ex iis *longe plura possent annotari exempla* ejusmodi variæ lectionis.\* We may therefore conclude that these are all the variations of this description, which he could discover. Let us now examine their number and character.

\* *Critica Sacra*, Vol. ii. p. 320.

In all they only amount to *eleven*, which I shall notice in the order adopted by Cappellus himself. Job xii. 2, for תְּמוֹת *moriatur*, Aquila reads תְּמוֹת *perfectiones* τελειώματα (σοφίας).—Prov. vii. 18, for רְרִים *amoribus* he reads רְרִים *uberibus* πλεονέκτων.—Psalm iv. 3, for כְּבוֹדִי *gloriam meam* כְּבוֹדִי *ἐνδοξοί μου*.—Isaiah iii. 12, for נְשִׁים *mulieres* נְשִׁים *exactores* ἀπαιτούσπτες.—Ib. vii. 11, for שְׂאֵלָה *petitionem* שְׂאֵלָה *ad inferos* εἰς ἀδην.—Ib. ix. 5, for מְשָׂרָה *principatus* מְשָׂרָה *mensura* τὸ μέτρον.—Ib. vii. 11, for אָנּוּשׁ *dolor desperatus* גְּאָב *dolebit homo* ἄνδρωπος.—Ib. xxxiii. 18, for הַמְּגִדְלִים *turres enutritos* τοὺς μεμεγαλυμμένους.—Ib. lvii. 10, for חֲלִית *non es infirmata* חֲלִית *non supplicasti* in Pihel οὐκ ἐλιάνευσσας.—Ezech. i. 7, for עֵגֶל *vitulus rotundus* στρογγύλον.—Hab. iii. 2, for בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים *in medio annorum* בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים *in appropinquandis annis* ἐν σφῶ ἐγγίξουσ τὰ ἔτη. In addition to these *eleven* variations *two* more are given, in which a different reading occurs by the substitution of שׁ for שׁ. Gen. xxvi. 33, for שְׁבַעָה *septem* שְׁבַעָה *saturitas* πλησμονή.—Hab. iii. 4, for שָׁם *ibi* שָׁם *posuit* ἔθετο.\*

These then are all the various readings occasioned by a difference in the points, which the eagle eye of Cappellus was capable of discovering in the fragments of Aquila; and surely neither their number, nor their importance is such as to disprove, when asserted of the vowels, that, which Eichorn seems to assert solely of the consonants, viz. that their general concurrence establishes a sufficient identity between the texts alluded to, so that one text may be considered as an apograph of the other. Rather indeed may what Eichorn seems to assert of the consonants, be more confidently asserted of the vowels; for if we again

\* Critica Sacra, v. ii. p. 806—816.

refer to Cappellus we shall find, that the various readings in the latter case amount not to the number of those in the former. I have noticed no less than *one* and *twenty* instances adduced by him,\* where a different sense has been given by Aquila in consequence of reading the consonants differently. If therefore, upon the argument of Eichorn, the two texts are to be classed together, notwithstanding the diversity of reading in the consonants, much more reason is there to class them together, notwithstanding the diversity of reading in the vowels.

I use the expression *diversity of reading in the vowels*, as if the codex used by Aquila contained vowels as well as consonants; but my meaning, it is obvious, only applies to the *traditional* reading of the vowels, in what manner soever conveyed, and not to the *actual* reading of them by any *written* characters in the text. The material fact, which I wish to establish simply is, that *Aquila* and the *Masorets* in almost all cases read the same consonants with the same vowels, their variations from each other in this respect being too trifling to disprove the remarkable coincidence of their general readings.

A similar consequence also will result from another comparison; from contemplating the variations in the vowel reading of the Septuagint, contrasted with the vowel reading of Aquila. Cappellus in the second chapter of his fourth book gives a copious selection of these variations. Upon an accurate survey of them however we find, that in so many as in *forty* instances the readings also of Aquila have been preserved; but that in *thirty-six*† of

\* *Crítica Sacra*, lib. v. cap. 5.

† Viz. Psalm xxxii. 4. xlv. 1. lviii. 9. lxiv. 7. lxxii. 1. lxxvi. 3. lxxviii. 69. eix. 9. Hosea xiii. 3. Amos i. 6. Jonah ii. 6. Ecclesiastes iii. 16. Isaiah ix. 8. Psalm xii. 9. xvii. 14. lviii. 6. lxiii. 2. lxiv. 8. lxix. 4. lxxiii. 33. lxxxvii. 6. cx. 14. cxxxii. 1. cxli. 7. Ecclesiast. xii. 9. Genes. iv. 26. xviii. 12. xxxi. 7. xlvi. 31. Deuter. xxxiii. 3. Amos i. 11. Psalm vii. 12. lxiv. 8. lxxxvii. 4. cxxxix. 2. lxi. 21.

these, where the Septuagint clearly varies from, Aquila follows, the vowel reading of the Masorets; and that even *three* of the *four* remaining instances it is probable that the difference consists, not in the actual reading, but in the turn of expression adopted in his translation. One of the *three* alluded to occurs in Psalm cxxx. 4. where Aquila renders the words לְמַעַן תִּירָא  $\lambda\epsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\upsilon\ \textit{propter timorem}$  instead of *ut timearis*: another in Canticles ii. 4, where the words רָגְלוֹ עָלַי אֶהְבֵּה  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\pi\prime\ \epsilon\mu\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\nu\ \textit{ordinavit super me amorem}$ : and the third in Hosea viii. 5. where the words זָנַח עֵגְלֶךָ  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{o}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \textit{desere vitulum tuum}$ . Nor does Cappellus himself seem to consider these as proofs, that Aquila read the respective passages differently from the Masorets, because he does not so notice them, when he subsequently enumerates the various readings of that translator. The *fourth* however which occurs, Isaiah xvii. 11. he does so notice in his enumeration, as may be seen by referring to my former quotation from him; so that out of the *forty* instances, in which the Septuagint is shewn distinctly to vary from the Masorets, Aquila appears to deviate only *once*.

From the preceding observations, therefore, we may conclude, that the Masoretical text, as well in point of vowels as of consonants, was the received text of the Jews so far back as the *first* century of the Christian æra. The Septuagint I admit is in this respect an anomalous translation, deviating in so many particulars from every other, especially in its reading of the vowels, as to be justly suspected of inaccuracy. Indeed it is often expressed so loosely as to assume the character rather of a paraphrase than of a translation. Its great difference in the reading of the vowels, is so prominent as to strike the most careless eye. And sometimes also even in the consonants.

A remarkable instance of both occurs in Isaiah ix. 6. וִיקָרָא שְׁמוֹ פְּלֵא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גְּבוּר אֲבִי-עַד שֵׁר-שְׁלוֹם  
*and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace.* This is thus strangely translated in the Septuagint, καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος. "Ἀξω γὰρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὑγίαιαν αὐτοῖς; a translation, which without the slightest change has been transmitted down from the days of Jerome; for that Father, having occasion to quote it,\* gives it thus in Latin; *Vocatur nomen ejus Magni consilii nuncius. Adducam enim pacem super Principes, et sanitatem ejus.* Such is the singular rendering of this celebrated passage by the Septuagint: while the version of Aquila exhibits the usual sense of it. How so complicated a twist of a plain meaning was effected, it seems difficult to conjecture. Cappellus, however,† with his usual confidence, labours to untie the Gordian knot; but I do not think that he has been completely successful. Equal liberties appear to have been taken with the consonants as with the vowels and accents; liberties, or rather perhaps gross deviations from the correct import of words, more to be attributed to ignorance and inattention, than to premeditated perversion and malevolence.

The remarkable, as well as numerous variations of the

\* Comment. in Isaiam, cap. ix. 6.

† Critica Sacra, v. ii. p. 577. He supposes that פְּלֵא יוֹעֵץ *Wonderful, Counsellor*, was rendered λεγάλης βουλῆς, *of the great counsel*; that אֵל גְּבוּר *the mighty God*, was rendered ἄγγελος, *Angel*, because אֱלֹהִים is sometimes so translated; that for אֲבִי-עַד שֵׁר-שְׁלוֹם *the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace*, the translators read אֲבִי עַל שֵׁר שְׁלוֹם ἄξω εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας (τὸν ἄρχοντα) *I will bring peace to the princes*; and that καὶ ὑγίαιαν αὐτοῖς is a gloss from some other version. This explanation seems more ingenious than solid; allowing more than usual latitude to the most latitudinarian of all interpreters.



Septuagint in its vowel reading, is noticed by Capellus. I cannot, however, agree with him in the reason, which he assigns for it. He says; *Unde est quod LXX interpretum lectio frequentissime mirum in modum ab hodierna punctatione distat; quia illi omnium longissime a Masoretharum seculo abfuerunt.* At paraphratarum Chaldaicorum, item Aquilæ, Simmachi, Theodotionis, S. Hieronymi, lectio quoad vocales, ab hodierna punctatione *propius abit, et multo minus longe discedit, quia isti Masoretharum ætati propius vixerunt.\** This reasoning might have weight, if some sort of imperfect vowel system, when the Septuagint was translated, were supposed to have existed, which was gradually improving to the days of the Masorets; but I do not see what influence the totally *new* invention of a vowel system in their days could possibly have had over translators who preceded them, and who were altogether without the knowledge not only of their, but of every vowel system whatsoever. Neither will the presumption of a traditional reading, howsoever preserved, which is supposed to vary with the varying æra, satisfactorily account for all the circumstances of the case; because, if so, that version which was nearest to the Masoretical age, would also most closely resemble the Masoretical readings. This however appears not to be the fact; for the version of *Theodotio*, which was made at least fifty years nearer to the Masoretical age, is farther removed from the Masoretical readings, than the version of *Aquila*. Nor is it only farther removed from the Masoretical readings, but also intimately allied to those of the Septuagint. Upon the latter point Montfaucon has the following remark; *Theodotio, ut jam probavimus, post Aquilam et ante Symmachum, interpretationem suam, imperante Commodo, in lucem emisit, et in vertendi modo a LXX interpretibus*

\* *Critica Sacra*, Præf. p. xiii.

minus, quam alii, deflexit : imo etiam LXX sæpissime secutus est.\*

To what then, it may be said, are we to attribute the fact, that the Septuagint version, with which we may likewise class the version of Theodotio, so perpetually differs from the Masoretical readings, while that of Aquila generally coincides with them? Not I apprehend to any distant or any approximating period, at which they might have been respectively composed; but solely to the abilities, and means of information, possessed by the several translators. I assume that each of them translated from an unpointed text; but contend, that Aquila alone of the three thoroughly understood the Hebrew language, and was conversant with the traditional readings of the synagogue. His close adherence to the Hebrew, and the estimation in which his version was held by the Jews themselves, are too well known to require proof. But the case was very different with the other two. The frequent misconception of the plainest meaning by the translators of the Septuagint not only demonstrate, that they read from a text without vowels, but that they were altogether incapable of supplying them according to the true genius of the language, and the common principles of vowel construction. And the knowledge of Hebrew, which Theodotio possessed, was in the judgment of Montfaucon far inferior to that of Aquila. Non infrequenter etiam, he remarks, Theodotio, *peculiarem sibi*, ab aliisque omnibus diversam interpretationem, adornat; in iisque locis *longe minore, quam Aquila*, vel Symmachus, Hebraicæ linguæ peritia instructus deprehenditur.† But whatsoever their skill in the language might, or might not, have been, the versions of Theodotio and Symmachus have been always rejected by the Jews as much less conformable with the

\* Prælim. in Hexapl. cap. vii. § 2.

† Ibid.

customary received sense of the sacred writings, than that of Aquila.

It is now something more than *two and twenty* centuries, since Ezra himself, an inspired writer, established the canon, and published the text, of Scripture; and it appears certain from the preceding remarks, that for so long a period as for the last *seventeen* of these centuries, the Masoretical readings have not only existed, but have been always contemplated as the genuine readings of this text. That incidental inaccuracies may have been committed in the act of transmitting them down through successive generations, may be admitted without impeachment to their general fidelity. These however affect not the principal question. Nor is it indeed probable that any other systematical readings, or, to adopt the language of modern criticism, any other *edition* of the text, was ever known from the days of Ezra to the present time. The only argument in proof of another edition is derived from the anomalies of the Septuagint; but this version, as I have remarked, is in itself so garbled, and abounds with so many proofs of error, as well as of ignorance, or inadvertence, if not of both, that no very legitimate inference can be deduced from it.

But it may be said, that, setting aside all consideration of the Septuagint, other editions besides the Masoretical, are most probably extant. For if we suppose the existence of two very ancient manuscripts A and B, the latter of which is now lost, but that before it was lost, the transcript c containing ten errors was made from it, the transcript d containing ten more from c, and so on in a multiplied ratio of error through the alphabet to z; and that then the transcript z, from the ignorance or caprice of criticism, being held in the highest estimation, became the common origin of other transcripts  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma$ , &c. ; surely if we suppose these things, it will be impossible for us to deny, that the last mentioned transcripts  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\gamma$ , &c., must exhibit a *different Edition* from that which is found in A; and if we do not

deny this, we acknowledge the propable existence of two distinct Editions at least. To the abstract principle contained in this reasoning, borrowed from Griesbach, I readily and unreservedly subscribe; but in the present case can by no means admit its practical result. The question turns not upon what Editions *may*, but upon what *actually do*, exist. In order to detect *different* Editions of the text, let us hear the rule of Griesbach himself: Attendendum est præcipue ad lectiones *insigniores atque graviores*, h. e. eas, quæ vel *sensum mutant*, vel *glossematibus constant exquisitis*, vel e *vulgaribus* lectionum variantium causis (e. gr. literarum aut soni similitudine, &c.) derivari nequeant, vel omittendo (nisi ὁμοιοτέλευτον omissioni occasionem præbuerit) addendove a lectione recepta discedunt. Again; Ut aliam recensionem inesse statuamus codici A, aliam codici B, necesse est non solum ut discrepantiæ occurrunt satis frequentes, per textum universum diffusæ, verum etiam, ut ratio discrepantiæ universæ reddi nequeat e *librarii sive negligentia sive imperitia, aliisque vulgaribus* lectionum dissonantium *causis*.\* Now before it be presumed, that an Edition of the Old Testament different from the Masoretical either does exist, or ever has existed, it is requisite, that the *more remarkable and important* variations in the readings of some other text be distinctly pointed out. This however, if we except the vain undertaking of drawing pure water from what Eichorn terms *the muddy ditch* of the Septuagint, has been never yet effected. Every version therefore, upon which reliance can be placed, and every Manuscript extant, must be referred to *one and the same* Edition, the Masoretical. The utmost to be presumed is, that they may belong to *different families* of this one Edition; but no attempt even at such subordinate classification, from the perplexity perhaps, and inferior utility of the task, has ever been made.

\* Curæ in Hist. Test. Gr. Epist. Paulin. p. 32, 33.

The result then of the whole is this ; that the antiquity of the received Hebrew text may be *clearly* carried up to the *first* century of the Christian æra. For the sake of argument however, instead of dating the certain existence of it *seventeen* centuries back, let us date it only *thirteen* ; and fix its origin at the very commencement of the *sixth* century, when we are told, that the characters of vowels and accents were originally invented. Will it even then follow, that any other text can be referred to, as occurring either in versions or in manuscripts, at all to be compared with it ? Certainly not ? for the versions as I have remarked are themselves of the same Edition ; and every manuscript in existence must be contemplated as a mere individual of some particular family derived from it.

The Masoretical text therefore as distinguished by vowels and accents, although not of inspired, is nevertheless of very high authority. It is incontrovertibly at least *thirteen* centuries old ; and furnishes us with a reading of inestimable value, not only on account of its own intrinsic excellence and antiquity, but also on account of the traditional character with which it is invested. Whether we consider its vowel readings, as substitutions for some other more ancient and more simple readings of a similar description, or as substitutions for the mere use of the *Matres Lectionis*, still must we regard them as readings universally respected at a period long anterior to the date of our oldest Manuscripts. Yet these are the readings, which many modern translators, particularly in our own country, have despised and derided ; conceiving, as one of the last but not least celebrated of their number sarcastically remarks, that “his critical judgment must be *weak* indeed, who is not qualified *to revise and reverse* the decisions of the wise men of Tiberias.”\*

We know that the Greek of the *New Testament* was

\* Bishop Horsley, Preface to *Hosea*.



originally written without pauses to regulate the sense, and without any distinction of words. But were it possible for us to possess an early copy of it, or the transcript of an early copy, with every deficiency of the kind alluded to fully supplied by persons abundantly competent to the task, should we not esteem it a treasure of the first critical importance? Now we possess such an early copy of the *Old Testament* in the Masoretical pointing of the text, which not only distinguishes between one word and another, as well as between one sentence and another, but between words connected together in the same sentence; and what is more, gives a determinate sense to the words themselves, the meaning of which would be otherwise vague and uncertain. Nor should it be forgotten, that the vowels and accents, by the combined operation of which so clear and steady a light is thrown over every part of the text, are not only themselves of very high, but likewise emanate from traditional readings of still higher, antiquity. Is it possible, that any critic, who gives himself a moment's time for reflexion, and who is not altogether overrun with self-conceit, can persist in exhibiting so egregious a want of judgment as to despise, and so consummate a proof of folly as to deride, readings of this description.

## CHAP. VII.

*Theory of elucidating Hebrew by the cognate dialects, particularly by the Arabic. Extract from Schultens, in exemplification of this theory. The verb גָּדַל. More ingenuity of investigation, than solidity of reasoning in it. Languages derived from the same source do not always use the same word in the same sense. The derivative sense more likely to occur in the more modern, and the primitive in the most ancient languages. Position, that the Hebrew tongue may be greatly illustrated by the study of the dialects, contains some theoretical truth with much practical uncertainty. Difficulty of the illustration. Signification of words in a constant state of fluctuation. Improvement in criticism often brings increase in perplexity. Oriental languages built upon the same foundation are sometimes composed of different materials. Hebrew and Syriac. Restrictions prescribed by Baver. Lexicons improved only in Etymological investigations. A translator not to be led astray by ingenious conceits, and Theoretical novelties.*

HAVING endeavoured to point out in detail the futility of their reasoning, who contend for the necessity of a new translation from a presumption, that the received Hebrew text has been rendered infinitely more correct than at the period of the last translation, which was taken from it, by the very improved state of modern criticism; and to demonstrate that the received text is not only the best, but the most ancient and authoritative, which can be adopted, I shall now briefly consider another part of their reasoning, in pursuit of the same object, grounded upon the supposed advantages, which a translator of the Bible would now possess in consequence of the great illustration, which the Hebrew language has received from a more extended cultivation of oriental literature. The former ar-

gment relates to the emendation of the text itself, the latter to the explanation of the words, of which that text is composed.

It has long been conceived that the Hebrew language is capable of very considerable elucidation by what we usually denominate the *sister dialects*, that is, by other languages of the same origin, particularly by the Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic. This has been a favourite topic with the admirers of *Schultens*, who, possessing a deep and accurate knowledge of Arabic, zealously laboured to demonstrate how greatly that language was capable of illustrating Hebrew, in his “*Origines Hebrææ; sive Hebrææ linguæ antiquissima natura, et indoles ex Arabiæ penetralibus revocata,*” as well as in his “*De Defectibus hodiernis Linguæ Hebrææ,*” and in the controversy which succeeded them. There is doubtless much ingenuity and recondite investigation displayed by this able Scholar upon a subject, where imagination is ever ready to seize the reins of reason; a subject, which few besides himself could so systematically expand or so lavishly adorn; but it seems carried to an extreme, and frequently fails of producing substantial fruit by being too theoretical and refined for practical utility. Indeed his whole hypothesis is framed upon the anvil of those philosophical lexicographers of Arabia, who, persuaded that the materials of their own language were inexhaustible, fabricated with no vulgar vanity their intricate links of combined significations from what they conceived to be the profundity of its principles, and the subtilty of its construction.

As a specimen of the mode of elucidation adopted by Schultens, I shall give in his own language a few extracts from his critical disquisition upon the Hebrew word גרל, which in his tract “*De Defectibus hodiernis Ling. Heb.*” occupies more than four quarto pages; referring the reader for fuller information to the tract itself. Ordior a גרל, Arabice *جرا* quod declaratur per *جزي* *incrementum*

*roburque cepit* adolescens, granum in spica ; ut est apud Golium. Sichabes *grandescere, magnum fieri, adolescere, succrescere, roborari, invalescere*, aliasque ideas *magnitudinis*, quas Dictionaria nostra גדל recte et rite attribuunt. Illud autem *incrementum roburque cepit*, satis apparet esse *secundarium* ac *derivatum*. Ex quo fonte ? Ex *firmiter torquendo et plectendo funiculo*, quod tanquam *princeps* atque *primigenium* radicis enotatur a Criticis Arabum. *Zjauhari* ; \* \* “ Dicitur גדלת חבל *torsi funem* quum כתלתה פתל מחנם *densiore et firmiore compage intorques*. Inde מגדולה *puella, quæ elegantiore est statura*, et מגדול *tenui gracilitate præditus vir, non ex macie*. Item גורל *juvenis robustior factus, et granum גדל, quum sit grandius et firmius.*” Similiter fere *Phiruzabadi*. \* \* “ Dicitur גדל hoc vel illud, qui *firmiter intorquet* ; et *vir מגדול* vocatur, cui ilia *subtiliore filo* deducta, simulque *validitus* compacta membra sunt. *Brachium אדול* est *robustius, compactius*. *Crus אגדולה* item *compactius firmiusque*. גדלא *mulier pulchro plexu textuve corporis prædita* ; et a *loricis, firmitus contexta*. Et גדל ולד הצביה *intortus, intextusque fuit fœtus capreae, aliorumve fœtus, pro adoleverunt et robusti evaserunt.*” \* \* \* Hinc præclivis fuit metaphora ad *corpus*, quod *nervis, venis, tendinibus, toris, intexitur*, quasi, et *firmum* sibi ac *compactum robur* acquirit. Such is the ground-work of his argument ; let us now see the application of it.

Ex hac jam origine thematis גדל vel *gratia*, vel *lux etiam nova*, sese insinuabit in loca bene multa. Liquet nunc, verbi causa, quantus sit nervus in formula גדל זרוע Exod. xv. 16. Proprie *lacerti compacti et torosi firmitudo intorta et robustior*. \* \* Ad *firmitatem compactam* etiam respicitur Esai. i. 2. בנים גדלתי ורוממתי. vulgo, *Filios educavi et extuli*. Subest *nervosius quid, et venustius*. In *corpore humano*, cum quo comparatur *populus Judaicus*, duo requiruntur, quæ illud perficiant,

suisque numeris absolvant. Prima dos est, nervis, torisque validis esse instructam, unde vires subministrantur. Altera, ut bene compactum et firmum corpus, non humile maneat, sed in altum consurgat et exerescat. *Utrumque* eleganter complexus est Propheta. Hæc propria est facies orationis. Improperie, in isto corpore reip. Judaicæ, illud בְּנִים גְּדֻלְתִּי *Filios nervis compegi et corroboravi, est opibus et divitiis, qui sunt nervi rerum, feci invalescere; רוממתי in proceram extuli staturam, est ad Majestatis culmen evexi.* Suspicio subtilius hoc discrimen, quod natura linguæ adfert, *etiam de industria* captatum esse Esai. xxiii. 4. לֹא גְדַלְתִּי בַחֲרוּרִים רֹמַמְתִּי בַתּוֹלוֹת *non firmos eduvi juvenes, non proceras educavi virgines.* Nempe laus juvenum in *compacto robore membrorum; quum* Virginum potius decus consistat in *erecta et proceriore statura.* \* \* \* Hisce præmunitis, non alienum, nec audax nimis videbitur, quod Jobi vii. 17, verba מֶה אֲנוֹשׁ כִּי תִגְדַּלְנוּ *convertere sustineam, Quid est Mortalis, O deus fortis, quod tu te implices cum eo? Adversus eum descendas in arenam, tanquam luctator, et gravis adversarius, cum eo manus conserens, digladiansque?\**

In the primitive significations of Hebrew words, as minutely extracted in this manner from the arabic by Schultens, I confess, that there has always appeared to me more ingenuity of investigation, than solidity of reasoning. With respect to the word in question the idea of *magnitude* in size or quantity, which had been affixed to it by preceding lexicographers, he considers as a *secondary* sense of it only, and for its *primary* sense refers to his favourite Arabic, which furnishes him with the idea of *implication*. But he does not mention the second signification of the word as given in the *Lexicon of Castellus*, which is *Liquavit butyrum, adipemve.* How is the

\* §. excix, cci, ccii, cciii, ccv.



idea of *twisting*, as in the case of a *rope*, to be associated with that of *melting*, as in the case of *butter* or *fat*? Both are compatible enough with that of *magnitude*; for as the act of twisting the several parts of a rope together increases their bulk by combination, so also does the act of melting enable the butter or fat to cover a *larger* surface.

I will not however stop to dispute the primary sense of the word, having other objections to his system.

I do not understand upon what rational principle it can be maintained, that the same word is always to retain its primary meaning in all the allied languages, into which it may be adopted. Thus it is admitted, that לָרַג in Arabic signifies to *twist*, and also to *contend*. But what does it signify in Syriac and Ethiopic? In Syriac, as also in Talmudical Chaldee, it signifies only to *twist*; and in Ethiopic it signifies only to *contend*; so that no more than one of the two senses applied to it in Arabic is applicable to it either in Syriac or Ethiopic, and not even that indifferently. But it may be said, are lexicographers in Syriac and Ethiopic to be trusted? May not upon a minute search passages be found in both these languages, where both the senses alluded to occur? It is impossible to prescribe limits to those, who wire-draw meanings from words for the establishment of a particular hypothesis; yet surely the chances of their being right are against them when they can only obtain a colour for the probability of their interpretation, perhaps in one only out of a hundred instances.

Now if this argument has weight when applied to the use of the word in Syriac and Ethiopic upon a comparison with the Arabic, it has much more weight when applied to its use in Hebrew upon the same comparison. In the Bible לָרַג occurs as a verb more than a *hundred* times, and as a noun more than *five hundred* times; yet is it only in *one* of these numerous instances, that Schultens labours to fix upon the word the signification of *implicare*. Grant-

ing therefore that such is its meaning in Arabic, and that it is capable of bearing the same meaning in the passage of Job alluded to, can we possibly admit this to be the true sense of it, when we recollect that it is indisputably used more than *six hundred* times in a different signification? The other passages of Scripture, to which he refers, are so explained as not to exclude the usual meaning of the word, although it is supposed to invest them with a certain recondite sense, of which the vulgar linguist would never form the slightest suspicion.

That languages derived from a common source do not always use the same word in the same sense, is a remark too trite to require confirmation. The caprice of colloquial usage disdains the precision of philosophical uniformity. Nor does the same word in the same language bear in every age the same signification. To give an instance in our own language upon a comparison with the German. The word *Knave* in English has now no such meaning as the analogous term *Knabe*\* in German, in which language it means a *Boy*. This however was once its meaning also in English; but such a sense of it is become obsolete. Nay, words are sometimes found completely to change their meaning. Thus when the present version of the Bible was made, the verb *let* signified to *hinder*, as 2 Thess. ii. 7; "he who now *letteth*, will *let*, until he be taken out of the way." But at present it is only used in the opposite sense of *permitting*.

Another observation likewise may be added, which militates against the theory of Schultens. The nearer we approach the fountain head of the languages in question, the greater I apprehend must be the probability of our discovering the *primitive* senses of words. But the direct reverse of this takes place in the theory before us, particularly with respect to the word more immediately

\* *Knabe* in Germany, answers to *Knave* in English, as *Grabe* answers to *Grave*.

under investigation. For Schultens himself admits, that the *derivative*, not the *primitive*, signification of it almost universally occurs in ancient Hebrew, which has ceased to be spoken for more than two thousand years, while its *primitive*, not its *derivative*, signification almost as universally occurs in modern Arabic.

But omitting all further consideration of the refined, the laborious, and the complicated investigations of Schultens, I proceed to contemplate the general principles of the position, that the knowledge of Hebrew has been considerably extended by a more comprehensive and accurate study in modern times of what are termed its kindred dialects. It has been asserted, and certainly not without strong presumptive reasoning, that by these the significations attributed to many obscure Hebrew words may be incidentally confirmed, and sometimes indeed new significations discovered, that the defects of that language, arising from the paucity of its remains, and other incidental causes, may be often supplied, and that its analogies in general may be appropriately elucidated. Upon the ability however of thus supplying its defects, much has indeed been written, but too much perhaps assumed. It has been conceived with respect to single words, that the etymons of many, not otherwise apparent, may in this way be effectually detected; and not only the primitive senses of their respective roots be restored, but in several instances their derivative or secondary, when in direct opposition to their primitive senses, satisfactorily investigated; and that the meanings of some, usually esteemed dubious, may be illustrated, those of others, which but seldom occur, be detected, and those of a few, which occur but once, be successfully explored. Nor has the utility of these cognate languages been supposed to consist in the mere supply of etymological deficiencies, but likewise of illuminating with the blaze of day many singular phrases and idioms, altogether abhorrent from European usage.

In this ingenious argument there seems to be some theoretical truth combined with much practical uncertainty. If however we give it its full weight, and admit the occasional felicity of its application, still must we regard that application as a task of no common difficulty and delicacy. The translator who attempts to tread on this alluring ground is under the constant temptation of forsaking every beaten track and of wandering into perpetual intricacies ; of substituting philosophical speculation for logical deduction, and critical refinement for solid reasoning. Ever prying after discoveries, his imagination is disposed to convert the wild weed into a highly cultivated flower, and the mean plant of daily occurrence into an exotic of inestimable rarity ; and always eager for novelties, he is usually more intent upon displaying his own talent at singular research, than upon explaining the word of God with unafected simplicity. Nor will those, who are most zealous to enrich Hebrew with the spoils of its kindred dialects, admit, that the enterprize is one of vulgar accomplishment ; or that the weapon, to be successfully used in this war of words, may be wielded by every arm.

To elucidate indeed a language of such remote antiquity, as the Hebrew, by others, of which, how much soever originally allied to it, we possess, at this very distant period of time, nothing like *coeval* remains, nothing but what in point of date is at least posterior to it many centuries, must always appear an arduous, and often prove an abortive, undertaking. The signification of words in all languages are in a constant state of fluctuation, and are undergoing perpetual modifications. Political changes in the forms and principles of governments, commercial connexions with foreign nations, pursuits previously unknown, the introduction of novel, or the amelioration of ancient, codes of faith, the cultivation of literature and science, the refinement of manners, and the general improvement in all the arts and luxuries of life, with many similar causes,



combine not only to render necessary the adoption of new words, but to impose other significations upon those which are already in use, and frequently produce a complete change in their forms and constructions. The primary imports of many become in time obsolete, and are superseded by meanings of extraneous origin and connexion; some assume metaphorical senses by the most perplexing analogies; and others are even perverted by the caprice of custom into senses diametrically opposite to those, by which they were before distinguished. Were we better acquainted, than we are, with modern Greek, we might perhaps be enabled to throw occasional light upon some obscure passages in the Greek writers of antiquity; but the attempt would require no little discrimination, and would scarcely be deemed the province of a translator, who ought not to transgress the bounds of sober criticism by wandering into the wilds of abstract reasoning and philosophical theory. Surely therefore we cannot presume, that less circumspection, and less control over the blandishments of fancy, are requisite in translating the language of the Bible, than in translating that of a mere classical author.

The difficulties, which at every turn surround the path of him, who, while engaged in the task of translation, is disposed to traverse the wide field of philosophical refinement, and conjectural speculation, are innumerable. When therefore we extol the improvement which Hebrew criticism has received, from a more extended cultivation of the oriental languages, in modern times, we are apt to forget, that improvement in criticism too often brings with it increase in perplexity; and that if we embark upon the ocean of conjecture, no little resolution, as well as discrimination, is requisite to prevent a perpetual deviation from our track, under the influence of respectable names and plausible authorities.

But the obstacles in the way of elucidation by the kindred languages appear still more formidable, when it is



considered, that although they are all built upon the same foundation as the Hebrew, yet the superstructure of each is not only in many instances differently arranged, but sometimes composed of very different materials. Schul- tens indeed contends that they do not vary from each other more than the Greek dialects vary ; and therefore represents them as mere dialects of one and the same common language. Were we however to admit, that this was probably the case when the Bible was written, would it follow that the flux of time had not considerably changed them ? But in truth evidence remains on record to prove, that Hebrew, and Syriac at least exhibited radical differences previously to the days of Moses. When Laban and Jacob erected a pillar in witness of the covenant existing between them, Jacob we are told called it גלעד, that is, the *heap of testimony*, or the *testifying heap*.\* Now the words גלעד *heap* and עד *testimony*, which constitute the denomination, are peculiar to the *Hebrew* tongue, and are not found in *Syriac*. Neither is this all ; for we are expressly informed that Laban was a Syrian, and that he called it יגרת שהורתא. Now these words, which convey precisely the same meaning as גלעד, are altogether unknown in pure Hebrew ; but are of frequent recurrence both in *Syriac* and *Chaldee*, and that without the slightest alteration either of form or of sense. The first of the two indeed, יגרת, is not found in *Arabic* ; but the latter occurs in that language also. When I remark that these words are altogether unknown in pure Hebrew, I mean only in the same senses as they bear in *Syriac* and *Chaldee* ; for יגרת as a verb occurs it is true in Hebrew, but with a very different signification, meaning *to fear*. And it is singular, that אגרת, from which it might perhaps be supposed that יגרת with a change of the first radical א into י was derived, signifies indeed in Hebrew *to collect* ; but that in *Syriac*,

\* Genesis xxxi. 47.

Chaldee, and Arabic it signifies *to hire*, as a verb, and *reward* as a substantive ; meanings in no respect compatible with the supposed derivation. Upon the whole therefore may we not conclude, that something more than a mere difference of dialect, that an essential difference in the signification of words, existed, not only when the Bible was composed, but at an æra long anterior to that, in which Moses lived, confessedly the most ancient of the sacred historians and prophets ?

But were we even to admit the validity of this ingenious hypothesis in all its parts, still must no inconsiderable difficulties oppose the practicability of its application. I will here briefly enumerate the restrictions and rules, which Baver prescribes to the adventurous critic, who embarks on this hazardous voyage of philological discovery. I. *Prima lex* : Non *una* solummodo, sed *omnes* dialecti orientales simul adhibendæ sunt in illustranda dialecto Hebraica, quatenus fieri poterit. Under this head he censures Schultens for giving his sole attention to Arabic, and Ludolf to Ethiopic. II. *Lex secunda* : Non tam *e lexicis* quam *e lectione scriptorum* Arabicorum, Syrorum, Chaldaicorum, &c. *ipsa*, usum loquendi discant, qui Hebraicis inde lucem affundere cupiunt. III. *Lex tertia* : *Accuratam cognitionem mutationum* habeas, quas elementa literarum patiuntur. IV. *Lex quarta* : Caveant sibi *a mere arbitraria permutatione et metathesi* literarum. V. *Lex quinta* : In usu dialectorum *modum non excedant*. Hoc autem fit, quando verbo Hebraico *centies*, imo *millies* in cod. sacr. V. T. repetito, quod *certam et indubitatum significationem*, et ubivis quidem, ubi recurrit, eandem habet, *aliam ex dialectis vim* quærunt et, *hanc alienam in locum illius receptæ* et vulgaris substituunt. VI. *Lex sexta* : Radicibus non significationes affingant, quas *non per se*, sed tantum in contexta oratione *tropice aut aliis vocibus conjunctæ* habet. These maxims he exemplifies by various remarks upon writers of reputation, who ap-

pear to have transgressed against the sober rules of criticism; and concludes with the following words: *Et sic innumera exempla colligi possunt, quæ testantur, themata Arabica male intellecta et solummodo e lexicis sine prævio examine corrasa ad illustranda Hebraica successu parum felici adhibita fuisse. Itaque vitio nemini vertendum est, qui optat, ut caute res tractetur, eique non nisi viri linguarum orientalium peritissimi manum admoveant. Si his accedat, ut interdum dormitent; quid demum tironibus, solidiore cognitione non imbutis, metuendum est.\** Too much attention cannot be paid to these rules of Bayer by him, who thinks himself qualified, and feels sufficiently bold, to tread on this fairy ground.

But after all, what has the boasted elucidation of Hebrew by its kindred dialects effected? Since the time of Schultens Lexicons have been constructed upon the principles proposed by him; but I do not perceive, what additions they have made to the stock of our knowledge respecting the *significations* of words. The only improvement attempted seems to consist in mere etymological investigations. We learn, for example, that אֲרִיץ *earth* is derived from a verb of the same radicals in Arabic, which signifies *to be humble, or depressed*; and that שָׁמַיִם *heaven* is to be referred to a similar verb in Arabic, signifying *to be exalted*; but no alteration whatsoever is made *in the meaning itself* of either word. Thus likewise Eichorn in his improved edition of Simon's Lexicon under the word גִּרְלָהּ refers to the disquisition of Schultens upon it already quoted, and conceives its original sense to have been *contor-*

\* Hermeneut. Sacr. p. 119—135. I have referred here and elsewhere to the works of Bayer, because from the freedom of his opinions he cannot be suspected of being too rigidly orthodox either in criticism or theology. Some parts of his Hermeneutica Sacra gave so much offence, that he was not permitted to print it at Halle, in Saxony. His testimony therefore on this account will not be charged with partiality towards that side of the question, which I myself embrace.

*sit, tortus et implicatus est ex multis faniculis in densiorem funem* ; but he makes no alteration of any kind in its usual Hebrew signification. Indeed the whole system, of which we have heard so much, and to which some are disposed to give credit for more than they have heard, seems rather calculated to gratify the vanity of criticism, than to convey useful and solid information.

Nor were the pretensions of his philological speculation, and its probable effects, greater than they appear to be, would it become the translator of an inspired book, in a version appropriated to public instruction, to be led astray from the direct path of sober exposition by ingenious conceits and theoretical novelties. The ardent eye of him, who recommends a new hypothesis in criticism or in silence, is always fixed upon its ideal importance ; but time alone is the test of truth. A translator therefore would be highly culpable, who suffered himself to wander from the established principles of legitimate translation, in order to display his own talent at conjectural interpretation, and to try experiments with the word of God.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Recapitulation. Conclusion. English Established Version translated from the Hebrew. Style of it admired. Obsolete expressions. Defects of it counterbalanced by its many Excellencies. Not likely to be superseded by a better.*

If we take then a review of the arguments adduced by those, who have contended for the necessity of a new translation, the solitary arguments, if arguments they can be called, of Mr. Bellamy alone excepted, they will appear to be grounded upon the presumptions, that the Hebrew text, from which our present translation was made, was a corrupted one; that it has however since received many great and important emendations; that the translators themselves from a defect in the literature of their day possessed not a competent knowledge of the Hebrew language; and that Hebrew erudition has in modern times been carried to an unparalleled extent by a deep and accurate investigation of certain principles, which Hebrew possesses in common with other Oriental languages.

In opposition to the first and second points presumed I have endeavoured to prove in detail, that the reverse is the fact; that the received Hebrew text is not only the most perfect, but the only one, upon which any reliance can be placed in existence; and that the emendations, which have been proposed, have tended not to purify, but to corrupt it. I have likewise pointed out the indisputable antiquity of this text, originally grounded upon the traditional readings of the Jewish synagogue; and insisted, that to depart from this altogether is to involve the sacred writings in chaotic darkness. At the same time however I have admitted, that inaccuracies, although of trivial importance, may have crept into it; and that if it were possible it



would be highly desirable to remove them ; but that they have never yet been satisfactorily pointed out ; and that no effectual attempt has been made by an appropriate classification of manuscripts, and a complete collation of versions, or by other means, even to detect, much less to amend, them. Under such circumstances then I cannot but maintain, that to talk of a new translation from an improved Hebrew text argues a blind temerity, bordering upon the extreme of folly. I am disposed to give full scope to every display of critical investigation ; but I cannot admit, that a public version of Scriptures should be cast in a mould accomodated to individual fancy and conceit.

We know what the labours of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach, have affected in advancing the criticism of the New Testament ; and that Griesbach particularly spent the greatest part of his life in the classifications of MSS., and in minutely ascertaining the value of their respective readings upon the most rigid principles. We also know, that the result of his labours has been made public ; and that what *he* considered as an improved text has appeared under the form of a new and distinct edition of it. But were another version of the New Testament to be prepared *for public use*, which would be the text translated ? The received text or that of Griesbach ? I think without much hesitation we may affirm, that it would be the former : for surely prudence and propriety would point out, that a text so long established, and to which other translations are accommodated, would in such a case be preferred to one, how ingeniously soever constructed, the authority of which must depend upon the critical judgment of a single individual.

If then after so much has been done to improve the received text of the *New Testament*, we should still conceive ourselves acting unwisely if we departed from it, supposing that another public translation was deemed adviseable, is it possible, that, embarked in a similar under-

taking, we could think ourselves at liberty to depart from the received text of the *Old Testament*, for the improvement of which nothing effectual or satisfactory has ever been done, or even attempted?

Such then is the outline of the reasoning which I have adopted in confutation of the two leading points presumed on the other side. I shall now shortly allude to the notice which I have taken of the two latter; but indeed these, correctly speaking, are only one; for if the knowledge of Hebrew has been considerably augmented in modern times by a more extended cultivation of Oriental literature in general, it must follow, that the knowledge which was possessed by preceding translators was at best but defective.

My object however here has principally been to demonstrate, that if much has been attempted in theory, little has been really effected in practice; I mean, that the collateral elucidation of the Hebrew language by a comparison with others of a similar origin has produced little or no important *practical* results. From the constant flux in the signification of all words in all languages it must prove a task of no common difficulty to distinguish between their primary and secondary significations; to trace up their ever varying meanings to their sources; and to determine, with any tolerable degree of certainty, from what precise fountain this or that particular signification originally sprung, as well as how far it continued its course in one, or suddenly ceased to flow in another, kindred language. Nor does it appear, I have remarked, in the least probable that the *primary* senses of the same words should be their *most frequent* senses in *modern Arabic*, while their *secondary* are their *most frequent* in *ancient Hebrew*.

But in truth the whole hypothesis seems more adapted to illustrate the philosophy of the Hebrew language, if philosophical we suppose its construction to be, than to pursue the capricious deviations of colloquial usage and

expression. And as I cannot perceive, that the best Lexicons of our own days, etymological refinements alone excepted, differ in their exposition of words from the best Lexicons in the days of our forefathers, I do not see in what respect our *practical* knowledge of the language exceeds theirs. Neither indeed can I admit, if our lexicographers, entangled in the web of critical theory, even proceeded to change the established meanings of words in Hebrew, because those words have such meanings in one of the sister dialects, that a translator would be excusable, who should be seduced by their example from the plain and direct path of approved interpretation.

The principal arguments, which I have controverted, and those, which I have advanced in refutation of them, are applicable to all translations; but in conclusion I shall now advert to the peculiarities of our own. This however will require no long or formal discussion; as its merits in point of composition have been sufficiently extolled on the other side; extolled by every advocate for a new version, who has been distinguished, as well by taste, as by talents and erudition.

That it is a translation from the Hebrew alone, and also as correct a one, as the alleged deficiency of the times in Oriental literature would permit, has been universally acknowledged; except indeed by a single eccentric author of the present day, whose vain and wandering intellect seems to be in a constant aphelion, enlightened possibly by a solar influence, unknown to all preceding translators, but certainly not by the critical luminary of any visible system. The very circumstance, which he imputes to our translators as a dereliction of their professed object to translate from the Hebrew only, viz. that they appear occasionally to have consulted the various versions of ancient and modern times, instead of detracting, as he conceives, from their characters and talents, adds lustre to both. For uninfluenced by the childish vanity of imagining, that no

translators of any period possessed a correct knowledge of the Hebrew language, except themselves, and anxious not to misapprehend, where missapprehension might be important, they duly examined, and scrupulously weighed, the treasures of combined wisdom, with which the labours of their predecessors in the same undertaking had furnished them. They translated from the Hebrew, like most of those who had gone before them; and were only guilty of thinking it possible, that the wise and good of former times might have had some little knowledge of the language, which they undertook to translate.

In point of expression our authorized version has received the most marked testimonies of approbation from the very writers, who were desirous of some new translation to supersede it. Its style, says Bishop Lowth, "is not only excellent in itself, but has taken possession of our ear, and of our taste." Dr. White remarks, that "general fidelity to its original is hardly more its characteristic than *sublimity itself*;" that "the English language acquired new dignity by it;" that "it is still considered as the standard of our tongue;" and that it possesses "a style consecrated not more by custom, than by its own native propriety."\* Ought not the judgment of writers like these to outweigh on this point that of those wild projectors, who with all the tinsel of modern diction, are desirous of embellishing its phraseology, and of adding, what they conceive to be, brilliancy to its periods?

But it has been said, that it retains many obsolete, and some indelicate, expressions. To remove these, however, I should scarcely conceive the appointment of a formal committee of critics and divines by public authority to be requisite; or if requisite, certainly not the appointment of a committee, invested with unlimited powers of emendation beyond the specific object in view. Indeed several

\* See Chap. i.



antiquated modes of expression as *moe* for *more*, *sith* for *since*, &c., have already been corrected in our printed editions of the Bible without any authority whatsoever; solely under the influence of what at the time predominated as the customary usage of the English language. Pilkington has given a list of such obsolete terms,\* some of which, for the reason, I presume, above given, have been since altered; I nevertheless cannot agree with him in thinking, that the "*uncouth and obsolete words*" of the present version, were they far more numerous than they appear to be, imperiously point out the expediency of a new one, in order to give Scripture the advantage of what is stated to be improvements in our language, and to sooth the disgusted ear of modern delicacy. He observes; "The *uncouth and obsolete words and expressions*, that are met with in the English version of the Bible, are generally intelligible, and convey the ideas the writer had in view; but as our language is *very much improved in politeness and correctness* since that version was made, it may properly be wished, that the Scriptures might receive *every advantage, which the improved state of our language can give them*; especially as the *delicacy* of some people's ears is pretended to be *disgusted with every uncouth sound*."†

Against a conformity with modern orthography and mere verbal expression who could object? But against the propriety and expediency of a new translation for the reasons assigned by Pilkington I utterly protest.

Upon the whole then I contend, that, whatsoever may be the defects of the present version, they are in themselves unimportant? and that no sufficient cause has been made out to warrant the attempt at a new version, under the sanction of authority, on their account alone. Had a new version been undertaken, at the time it was proposed, I am persuaded, that another would have been

\* Remarks, p. 115.

† Page 114.



by this time again necessary, upon principles of a more rigid and chastised interpretation; and should a new one be even now attempted, I am convinced that it would not exceed in point of general accuracy and fidelity that which has been already executed. Were a greater elegance of composition, and superior degree of philological refinement attainable, to gratify the ear of modern taste, and to correspond with the supposed improvements of modern criticism, it may well be doubted, whether these improvements, if improvements they could be justly called, would not prove more injurious than beneficial to the cause, which they were intended to promote. The language of our present version has the full tide of popular opinion strongly in its favour; it exhibits a style appropriately biblical, and is distinguished by a general simplicity of expression, which the most uncultivated mind may comprehend, and the most cultivated admire. It is a translation in possession of characteristic merits, which might be extinguished, but cannot be augmented, by principles of transitory taste and ephemeral criticism; a translation which with all its imperfections in whatsoever part of Scripture the comparison be made, is superior to every other in our own, and inferior to none in any foreign, language.

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**Critical Reflections**

ON

**THE UNITARIAN VERSION**

OF THE

**NEW TESTAMENT.**

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## P R E F A C E.

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FROM causes too unimportant for public enumeration, it happened, that the Author of the following pages possessed neither time nor inclination minutely to discuss the merits or demerits of that Version, which is the object of his present strictures, at its first appearance. Indeed he neglected the examination of it altogether till very lately, when his attention was irresistibly attracted to it by the *Remarks* of Mr. Nares, ably exposing, particularly upon doctrinal topics, many of its perverse inaccuracies and fallacious deductions. The scope of these *Remarks* appeared, it is true, sufficiently comprehensive. Still however, he conceived, that certainly misrepresentations of no inconsiderable moment required a more full and distinct, as well as different, refutation ; and such a one has he now attempted. It will be seen, that with the theological argument of the New Version he has interfered as little as possible, the specific object in his view being wholly critical. Not indeed that he has combated every erroneous position or incorrect conclusion which might have been fairly opposed ; but he has contented himself with selecting a few of those which are most prominent and least venial.

He does not apologize for differing upon points of criticism, either from the Heterodox, or from the Orthodox. A critic is of no party ; but, solely attached to philological truth, censures without reserve obliquities of judgment wheresoever he detects them, whether ushered into notice by Trinitarians of rank and character, or turned loose upon the world by an anonymous committee of obscure Unitarians.





# LAURENCE

ON THE

## Unitarian Version of the N. Testament.

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### CHAP. I.

#### *Introductory Remarks.*

WHEN a work appears under the singular title of “The New Testament in an improved Version, upon the basis of Archbishop Newcome’s new Translation, with a corrected Text, and Notes Critical and Explanatory, published by a Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and the practice of Virtue, by the distribution of Books ;” it seems natural to enquire into the religious persuasion of the authors. This indeed is not explicitly avowed either in the Title Page or the Introduction ; but the translation itself in every part, and the uniform tenor of the notes, sufficiently display it. The improved Version is nothing more than a new version so improved as to be rendered conformable with the tenets of *Unitarianism*. In proof of this assertion, it is unnecessary to quote more than the following passage, from the comment on 1 John, i. 1. “It is to the unwearied and successful labours of this pious and learned person, (the venerable Theophilus Lind-

say,) whose life and doctrine have exhibited the most perfect model in modern times of the purity and simplicity of apostolical Christianity, in conjunction with those of his able coadjutor, Jebb, Priestly, Wakefield, and others, that the Christian world is indebted for that clear and discriminating light, which has of late years been diffused over the obscurities of the sacred Scriptures, and which promises, at no very distant period, *to purify the Christian religion from those numerous and enormous corruptions, which have so long disfigured its doctrines, and impeded its progress.*" Hence the nature of that elucidation, which is diffused over the obscurities of Scripture in this version may be distinctly perceived.

Nor will the Unitarians, I presume disown the production; and if in their justification they simply allege the propriety of their possessing a translation of the New Testament, more consonant, in their own judgment, with the sense of Scripture than that of the Establishment, they certainly advance a position which few will be disposed to controvert. But is it quite consistent with that open and manly conduct, upon which they peculiarly pride themselves, to sink their characteristical denomination, and simply to describe themselves as "a Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge and the practice of virtue by the distribution of books; who, in order "to supply the English reader with a more correct text of the New Testament than has yet appeared,"\* had fixed its choice and founded its improvement "upon *the excellent translation* of the late most reverend Dr. William Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland, a worthy successor of the venerable and learned Archbishop Usher;"† to enter the combat in disguise, and advance to the attack in an archiepiscopal coat of mail? And is it true to the extent apparently professed both in the Title Page and Introduction,

\* Introduction, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 4.

that Archbishop Newcome's version really forms the groundwork of this? The translators indeed say, that they have assumed it as a principle not to deviate from the Archbishop's version "but where it appeared to be necessary to the correction of error or inaccuracy in the text, the language, the construction, or the sense."\* But instances of such an exception unfortunately so often occur, that there is scarcely a single page without one or more, and not many without numerous deviations from it. Nor are these deviations simply confined to mere verbal errors or inaccuracies, but extend to the most important doctrines, so as uniformly to divest the Archbishop's translation of every expression hostile to the Unitarian Creed; deviations, which could not have incidentally taken place, but must have been originally projected. For we are expressly told, that the design of the Translators, as well as of the Society, was, to supply the English reader with a more correct text of the New Testament than has yet appeared: as also, by divesting the sacred volume of *the technical phrases of a systematic theology* which has no foundation in the scriptures themselves, to render the New Testament more generally intelligible, or at least to preclude many sources of error: and by the assistance of the notes, to enable the *judicious and attentive* reader to understand Scripture phraseology, and to form a just idea of *true and uncorrupted Christianity*."† What Unitarians mean, when they allude to a *systematic theology, which has no foundation in the Scriptures* and also to *true and uncorrupted Christianity*, no man can for a moment doubt, who has but slightly glanced his eye upon any of their avowed publications. Instead therefore of being that which at first view it may appear to the general reader, a Version undertaken from no party motives, and conducted upon no party principles, the very reverse seems to be the fact.

\* Introduction, p. 4.

† Introduction, p. 5, 6.

The text from which this translation is professedly made, is the amended one of Griesbach : a text which is too well known, and too highly respected, to require more than a simple notice of its excellency, and the superior correctness of which is universally acknowledged. But why in an English translation so long a history is given of the received Greek text, and its critical improvements, of Greek manuscripts, and of the different editions of the Greek Testament, it seems difficult, to conjecture. Could it possibly be to take the chance of impressing an idea, that the established translation, which confessedly follows the received text, is too corrupt to be used as a rule of faith? This however it would be more easy to insinuate than to prove.

Among the various modes which have been adopted for the improvement of the received text, attempts, it is observed, have been made to correct it by *critical conjecture*. Upon this subject the following remarks occur ; “This is a remedy which ought never to be applied but with the utmost caution, especially as we are furnished with so many helps for correcting the text from manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writers. This caution is doubly necessary when the proposed emendation affects a text which is of *great importance in theological controversy, as the judgment of the critic will naturally be biassed in favour of his own opinions*. It ought perhaps to be laid down as a *general rule*, that the received text is *in no case* to be altered by critical or at least by theological conjecture, how ingenious and plausible soever.” So far the reasoning is correct, and perfectly conformable with the established maxims of the most eminent critics : but what follows? “Nevertheless (it is added) there is no reason why critical conjectures should be *entirely* excluded from the New Testament, any more than from the works of any other ancient Author ; and some very plausible conjectures of no inconsiderable importance have been suggested

by men of great learning and sagacity, which, to say the least, merit very attentive consideration. See particularly John i. 1. vi. 4, and Romans ix. 5."\* and a reference is made to Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. c. 10. Here is a manifest qualification of the preceeding remark. Whatsoever ambiguity then may be supposed to exist in the idea of a *general* rule which is *universal* in its application, it is certain that the Authors of the New Version only mean, by so expressing themselves, a rule which is in *most* cases to be observed, but which may in *some* be violated ; and, by way of distinctly pointing out the nature of their exception, they refer to John i. 1. vi. 4, and Romans ix. 5. The second reference indeed is not very important ; but the first and third relate to theological conjectures, inimical to the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. The first consists in the substitution of Θεσ for Θεος in the clause και Θεος ην ο Λογος, and the second in reading ων ο for ο ων in the passage ο ων επι παντων Θεος, so as by this transposition to render its sense, "of whom was God, who is over all ;" necessarily precluding the interpretation usually affixed to these words. What then is their distinction ? The *general* rule, which *in no case* admits theological conjecture, how ingeniously and plausible soever it be, ought not, it seems, to stand in the way of any unauthorized emendations of the sacred text favourable to the Unitarian hypothesis : but do they mean to extend the same indulgent exception to Trinitarian criticism ? Or do they conceive, that it is only the judgment of the Trinitarian critic which is likely to be biassed by individual opinion ?

But, in corroboration of what they advance, they refer the reader to Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. c. x. In this chapter, which is entitled "Conjectural Emendations of the Greek Testament." and upon which their whole reasoning, one might suppose, was founded, it is singular that Michaelis

\* Introduction, p. 18, 19.



reprobates, in the strongest terms, all theological conjecture whatsoever, and that for this obvious reason : because “a Theologian whose business it is to form his whole system of faith and manners from the Bible, cannot with propriety assume previously any system of theology, by which he may regulate the sacred text ; but must adopt that text which is confirmed by original documents, and thence deduce his theological system.\* Nor is this all. In direct opposition to the sentiments of those who quote him, and in the beginning of that very chapter to which they refer, he thus unequivocally expresses himself : “ It must be evident to every man, that the New Testament would be a very uncertain rule of life and manners, and indeed WHOLLY UNFIT TO BE USED AS A STANDARD OF RELIGION, if it were allowable, *as in the practice of several Socinians*, to apply critical conjecture in order *to establish the tenets of our own party*. For instance ; if, in order to free ourselves from a superstitious doctrine, on the supposition that the divinity of Christ is ungrounded, we were at liberty to change, without any authority, ΘΕΟΣ ΗΥ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ, John i. 1, into ΘΕΣ ΗΥ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ, and Ο ΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΣ, Rom. ix. 5, into ΩΝ Ο ΕΠΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΣ, the Bible would become so very uncertain, that every man might believe or disbelieve, as best suited his own principles.”†

Could these writers have possibly read the preceding passage when they made their appeal to the authority of Michaelis ? If they had, they must surely have perceived that Michaelis is directly against them ; and that the very conjectural emendations, originally proposed by *the Socinian theorists Crell and Schlichting*, which they particularly notice as suggested by *men of great learning and sagacity*, and as *meriting, to say the least, very attentive consideration*, he directly censures in the most pointed terms, and expressly brings forward to illustrate the

\* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 413.

† Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 387.

position, that theological conjecture is *never* admissible. If, conscious of opposing an established maxim, which ought in no instance to be violated, they wished to shelter themselves from the storm of critical reproof, the gabardine of Michaelis was most unfortunately selected indeed as a place of refuge.

To the passage which I have just quoted, from the first section of the chapter referred to, I will add one or two more from the last section of the *same* chapter, in order to place the opinion of Michaelis in a still clearer point of view. "The only plausible argument which an advocate for theological conjecture might use, not so much indeed *to convince himself of the justice of his cause*, as *to perplex his opponents*, is the following; namely, that the New Testament has been so corrupted by the ruling party, which calls itself Orthodox, that the genuine doctrine of Christ and his Apostles is no longer to be found in it. But there is not the least room for a suspicion of this kind, as we have so great a number of manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writings, in which the New Testament is quoted, of every age and every country."\* And in proof of his assertion, among other things, he remarks, that "the passages *which afforded the most perplexity to the members of the ruling Church are still extant in manuscripts, versions, and editions of the New Testament*; whereas the *spurious* passage, 1. John v. 7. though the Orthodox seem to think it of the most importance, has *never* had the good fortune to find admittance into any Greek manuscript, or ancient version." If the compilers of this Introduction, who not only in the instance before me, but in almost every page, refer to the writings of Michaelis, will not admit the validity of the argument in the preceding extracts, they may perhaps feel the force of the following powerful appeal to Unitarian consistency: "As critical

\* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 418.

conjectures," observes the same author, have been principally made by those, who, in the language of the Church, are termed Heretics, I will invent one or two examples of the same kind in the name of the Orthodox, and ask those of the opposite party, whether they would admit them as lawful conjectures. For instance, suppose I should alter  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\delta$  Πατηρ  $\mu\epsilon\zeta$ ων  $\mu\epsilon\zeta$   $\epsilon\sigma\iota$ , John xiv. 18. to  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\delta$  πατηρ  $\mu\epsilon\zeta$   $\epsilon\sigma\iota$ , or  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\delta$  Πατηρ  $\mu\epsilon\zeta$  ζων  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ν  $\epsilon\sigma\iota$ ν, in order to be freed from a text that implies an inequality between the Father and the Son : or if I should read 1 John v. 20. in the following manner,  $\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta$  υίος  $\epsilon\sigma\iota$ ν  $\delta$  αληθινός, Θεός, in order to show more distinctly the divinity of Christ; I think the Heterodox would exclaim, *He is either extremely ignorant, or, by having recourse to such miserable artifices, acknowledges the badness of his cause.* But the Heterodox, as well as the Orthodox, must appear before the impartial tribunal of criticism, where there is no respect to persons, and where it is not allowed for one party to take greater liberties than the other."\* As it is impossible to expose their reasoning more strongly than the Critic himself has done, to whom they appeal for support, and that even in the very chapter, which they quote, I shall add nothing more upon the subject, but leave them to enjoy, as they can, the testimony of Michaelis.

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## CHAP. II.

### *Authenticity of the two first Chapters of St. Matthew.*

In the remarks which I propose to make upon this New Version, it is not my intention to raise the shield of theo-

\* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 415.

logical warfare against those "critics and commentators of the highest reputation" as they are termed,\* that is, against the redoubted champions of Unitarianism, from whose works the Authors profess to have principally collected their notes from the illustration of difficult and doubtful pages; but to confine my observations as much as possible to critical questions: and, as they do not presume to hold it up as a faultless translation, but merely as an improved version, still, no doubt, susceptible of far greater improvement, which they will rejoice to see undertaken and accomplished by *abler* hands;"† I shall not drag into view every little error and inaccuracy which the severity of criticism may discover, but consider those only which are most offensive and most prominent.

"If this Version," they remark, "possesses any merit, it is that of being translated from the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published."‡ Yet, notwithstanding this and other similar assertions, "the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious reader," whose approbation they seem assured of conciliating, scarcely opens the Gospel of St. Matthew before he finds *three* pages together printed in italics, an intimation, he is told, that the passages themselves are all of doubtful authority; and, when he gets to St. Luke's, almost *seven* more of the same description. The reasons assigned for the propriety of this rejection may possibly satisfy the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious of their own communion, whose minds may be prepared by a previous intimacy with the writings of Priestley and his coadjutors, but will never, I am persuaded, convince the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious, if such can be admitted to exist, of any other communion.

Being repeatedly informed that this Version is adapted to the "admirable" text of Griesbach, as given in the

\* Introduction, p. 4.

† Introduction, p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 8.

last edition of his Greek Testament, “an edition of unrivalled excellence and importance, the publication of which will constitute a memorable era in the history of Scripture criticism,”\* we naturally turn to Griesbach for the authority of this bold step, but in vain ; for there the doubtful pages (as they are denominated) appear in the genuine text without the slightest hint of their supposed illegitimacy. Indeed one of his invariable rules in the regulation of his corrections very properly was, *nil mutetur è conjectura nil sine testium, nempe codicum, versionum, Patrum, auctoritate.*† Perhaps then it may be said, that the translators themselves, who certainly seem to speak of ancient manuscripts, and other documents of the kind with much familiarity, may have had the good fortune to discover what escaped the search of the indefatigable Griesbach. But here again we are foiled ; for a note informs us, that these passages are certainly to be found “in all the manuscripts and versions, which are now extant.”‡ Upon what possible principle then can it be, that they are thus pilloried, and exposed in an English translation to popular contempt and fury ? When we recollect that they contain an account of the miraculous conception of our Saviour, and that Priestley, with others of the “clear and discriminating” class of writers, “who of late years have diffused so much light over the obscurities of the sacred Scriptures,” have thought proper to reject them, we cannot be long at a loss to divine the principle and the motive : but as a decision is not passed against their authenticity without some show of argument in the notes, the best, it is to be presumed, which Unitarian reading can supply, and as the question itself is one of considerable importance, I shall be the more particular in my remarks upon this subject.

The portion or St. Matthew’s Gospel which is thus stig-

\* Introduction, p. 23. † Prolegomena, p. 83.

‡ New Version, p. 2.



matized, consists of the whole of the two first chapters, with the single exception of the Genealogy at the commencement.

The critical authority adduced for the retention of the Genealogy, and the rejection of the remainder of these two chapters, is stated in the following terms : “ Epiphanius says, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates, who used the Gospel of the Ebionites, which was probably the original Gospel of Matthew, written in the Hebrew language for the use of the Jewish believers, argued from the Genealogy at the beginning of the Gospel, that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary ; but that the Ebionites had taken away even the Genealogy, beginning their Gospel with these words ; ‘ And it came to pass in the days of Herod the king &c.’ See Epiph. Hæres. 30. N. 13. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 25. It is probable therefore that the first sixteen verses of this chapter are genuine ; and that they were found at least in the copies of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. . . . The remainder of this chapter, and the whole of the second, are printed in Italics, as an intimation that they are of doubtful authority. They are indeed to be found in all the manuscripts and versions which are extant ; but from the testimony of Epiphanius and Jerome we are assured, that they were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, that is, by the ancient Hebrew Christians, for whose instruction probably this Gospel was originally written, and to whom the account of the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ could not have been unacceptable, if it had been found in the genuine narrative.”\*

Before I proceed to the examination of the authorities cited, it will be proper to notice an ambiguous assertion occurring in the first paragraph, viz. that *the Gospel of the Ebionites was the original Gospel of Matthew*, written

\* New Version, p. 1, 2.

in the Hebrew language for the use of the Jewish believers." If this assertion be intended to convey the simple persuasion of the translators themselves, it will rest on no solid basis, and consequently require no particular refutation : but if they applied it to Epiphanius, an application which seems to arise from the natural connexion of the whole, it may be necessary to remark, that they certainly attribute to the Father an opinion the very reverse of that which he maintained. The words of Epiphanius are these: *Εν τῷ γενεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαίου ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐκ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρῶσαι, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ηὐρωτηριασμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τὸ καλεῖται, ἐμφερεται, &c.\** This is thus translated by Jones, to whom also reference is made, most probably for the convenience of the mere English reader. "In that Gospel which they (i. e. the Ebionites) have called the Gospel according to St. Matthew, which is not *entire and perfect*, but *corrupted and curtailed*, and which they call *the Hebrew Gospel*, it is written &c." Now is it not hence apparent, that Epiphanius, instead of considering it as "the original Gospel of Matthew, written in the Hebrew language for the use of the Jewish believers," pointedly stigmatized it as an imperfect spurious, (*νενοθευμένῳ illegitimatized*,) mutilated copy? But the translators perhaps, as I before observed, might have intended to take the responsibility of the assertion solely upon themselves; in which case I will only remind them, that they adopt the very opinion of the celebrated *Toland* which "*the learned*" Jeremiah Jones, as they justly describe a favourite author, (Introduction, P. 7.) formerly reprobated in the strongest terms.†

\* Hæres. 30. §. 13.

† Toland, it seems, not only maintained that the Gospel of the Ebionites was the original Gospel of St. Matthew, and that both the Ebionites and Nazarenes were the true ancient Hebrew Christians; but that the forged *Acts of the Apostles*, which the Ebionites also used, were a portion of genuine Scripture. After giving Epiphanius's ac-

If I understand the ground of their argument in this case correctly, it is precisely this. We are assured by Epiphanius and Jerome, that the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel were wanting in a Gospel supposed to be

count of the latter production, Jeremiah Jones adds the following severe reflections: "Part of this fragment is produced by Mr. Toland, in his *Original Plan or Scheme of Christianity according to the Ebionites*, both in Greek and English; nor is it strange that a person of Mr. Toland's profession should grace his Scheme with a passage so much to his purpose, I mean, of *abolishing the doctrines of Christianity*, which are agreed upon by all Christians, and introducing *his most ridiculous and impious Scheme of Nazarene, or Jewish, or Ebionite, or Mahometan, or* (which is the undoubted truth) *of no Christianity at all*. Did Mr. Toland and his friends, in these their vile attacks upon so excellent and divine a constitution, not *quibble, and juggle, and prevaricate*, as they upon all occasions do, in their citations out of the old records of Christianity, (a crime which they are ever forward to charge upon others, who are much more clear of it,) I should excuse myself and the reader from the trouble of any remarks upon them, leaving them to their slavish infidelity; but when I observe a person *ransacking and mustering together all the silly trumpery of the ancient heretics*, grossly misrepresenting the books he cites, only with design to gratify a bigoted humour against the Christian religion, I am obliged, by my regards to the profession I make of the name of Jesus, to lay open such vile imposture. Of this I have given several instances already from Mr. Toland's books. The passage I am now upon out of Epiphanius furnishes me with another. He would persuade us the Ebionites or Nazarenes (*a most ridiculous sort of heretics, who scarcely deserved the name of Christians, as I shall shew hereafter*) were *the only true and genuine Christians*, consequently *their books must be the truest and most genuine accounts of the Christian affairs*; and so, for instance, must these Acts, which we are now discussing; because it so much vilifies St. Paul, and exposes his doctrine. But, as Dr. Mangey has justly remarked, *this is most insupportable impudence in him, to cite as genuine a wretched forgery of the Ebionites*. One can scarce tell whether his intention of vilifying St. Paul, or the method he useth to do it, be the more detestable; this sorry unbelieving Critic governs his skill by his wicked principles, and has no other way to judge of spurious and genuine books, than by their opposition to Christianity." Jones on the Canonical Authority of the New Testa-

that of St. Matthew, used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, that is, by those who are conjectured to have been the ancient Hebrew Christians, and for whose instruction St. Matthew's Gospel is also conjectured to have been written : the whole two chapters therefore are *prima facie* to be rejected ; but Epiphanius asserts, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates, who used the same Gospel, admitted the Genealogy at the commencement, which the Ebionites had taken away : therefore the Genealogy alone is to be retained, and the remainder of the two chapters to be rejected.

I shall not undertake to refute the illogical reasoning manifested in the conduct of this argument, because it is in itself sufficiently obvious, and has already been exposed ;\* nor enter into an unnecessary discussion respecting the proper principle upon which *the Genealogy* is to be admitted, satisfied that it is on both sides declared to be genuine ; but confine myself to the critical statements upon which the rejection of the remainder of these chapters is grounded.

We are assured, the authors of this work observe, both by Epiphanius and Jerome, that the two first chapters were wanting in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. When I found them in the introduction, p. 14. describing the *celebrated* Ephrem, who lived in the *fourth* century, as a writer of *some* note in the *sixth*, I began to

ment, Part II. Chap. 17. It may indeed be observed, that the language of this passage is disgraced by an immoderate asperity, and that the opinion contained in it is unsupported by authority ; to both of which remarks I fully accede ; only subjoining with regard to the latter point, that although the opinion be unsupported here, it is very sufficiently proved in other parts of the work, and that, if it rested solely upon the credit of the assertor, still, as being the opinion of the learned Jeremiah Jones, it would be entitled to at least as much respect as the opposite opinion of the authors of the New Version.

\* Nare's Remarks on this Version, p. 5, 6.



suspect that they were very little conversant with the works of the Fathers ;\* and this suspicion seems confirmed in the present instance, by their attributing to Jerome an assertion which he never made. Every thing advanced by Jerome and others, upon the subject of the Gospel in question, has been carefully collected by Grabe, in his *Spicilegium Patrum*, vol. i. p. 15—31 ; by Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* vol. i. p. 346—359, and 355—370 ; and also by Jones, in the chapter of his work to which they themselves refer : and certainly in neither of these collections does any thing similar to what they say of Jerome appear. That therefore, which has escaped the diligent investigation of Fabricius and Jeremiah Jones, has scarcely, I presume, been discovered by them. Indeed a direct negative may here be assumed with the greater confidence, because, as I shall subsequently shew, Jerome himself asserted the very reverse of their position.

The assurance therefore, that these chapters were rejected by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, solely rests upon the authority of Epiphanius. The words alluded to are these ; Οὔτοι δε αλλα τινα διανουνται, παρακοφαντες γαρ τους παρατω Ματθαιω γενεαλογιας, αρχονται την αρχην ποιεισθαι, ως προειπον, λεγοντες· οτι εγενετο φησιν, εν ταις ημεραις Ἡρωδης βασιλευς

\* Are they aware that the works of the ancient heretics nowhere exist but as they are quoted in those of the Fathers? They certainly seem to put this point a little dubiously, when, in describing the means of correcting the received text, they say, “ The works of those writers who are called heretics, such as Valentinian, Marcion, and others, are as useful in ascertaining the value of a reading as those of the Fathers, who are entitled Orthodox; for the heretics were often more learned and acute, and equally honest.” *Introd.* p. 18. If the ponderous volumes of the Fathers are deemed to be in themselves but of little intrinsic value, they surely deserve to be investigated more accurately than they seem to have been by these writers, were it only for the discovery of that pearl above all price, according to their estimation, the genuine Christianity of the reputed heretics of antiquity.



της Ἰβωνίας &c. which are thus rendered by Jones ; “ But they (viz. the Ebionites) have quite other sentiments ; for they have taken away the Genealogy from Matthew, and they accordingly begin their Gospel with these words, *It came to pass in the days of Herod king of Judea, &c.*”

This prolix writer is certainly not remarkable either for his learning or acuteness ; qualifications, indeed, with which, in the judgment of Unitarians, the Fathers in general were very sparingly endowed. He digresses most immoderately, and paraphrases without mercy. If his honesty be unimpeachable, his accuracy, at least, is more than suspected.\* Waving however every imputation of the latter kind, let us put the supposition, that his assertions are all grounded upon the most correct knowledge and the minutest investigation ; and what will follow ? Only that, with the same breath with which he tells us that the Gospel of the Ebionites contained not the two first chapters of St.

\* Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, holds him in the most sovereign contempt. He says, “ Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in the isle of Cyprus, wrote a book against all the heretics that had sprung up in the Church until his time. This work has little or no reputation, as it is full of inaccuracies and errors, and discovers almost in every page the levity and ignorance of its author.” Vol. i. p. 349. The original Latin is thus expressed, “ Epiphanius Salaminæ in Cypro Episcopus sectas Christianorum justo persecutus est volumine, at variis maculis et erroribus propter auctoris levitatem et ignorantiam *inusto.*” Hence it appears, that Mosheim considered the work as absolutely, *branded* with ignominy. One circumstance indeed alone seems to throw an air of suspicion over this whole account of the Ebionites ; for Epiphanius not only derives the name of the sect from a person denominated *Ebion*, whose very existence is problematical, contrary to the opinion of other writers, who derive it from the Hebrew word עֲבִיּוֹן signifying *poor* ; but relates a story of *Ebion* and St. John, similar to what Irenæus, upon the authority of Polycarp, records of *Cerinthus* and St. John ; viz. that the Apostle, seeing *Ebion* in a bath, exclaimed, “ Let us depart hence, lest the building fall in, and we ourselves perish with the impious *Ebion.*”

†. 23. Will the Unitarian admit the accuracy of this anecdote ?

Matthew, he also informs us, that it was because they scrupled not to curtail and mutilate the genuine production of that Apostle. The consequence is obvious. But perhaps a distinction may be here adopted; and the first assertion be termed a matter of fact, the last only a matter of opinion; so that, while one is correct, the other may be inaccurate. I shall not adduce in reply, as I easily might, various points of fact advanced by Epiphanius relative to the doctrine of the Ebionites,\* and then call upon Unitarian consistency for an implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his statements, but produce a point of fact exactly parallel. Epiphanius distinctly asserts, that the Ebionites not only rejected the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, but also the prophetic writings, and almost the whole of the Old Testament, with very little reservation indeed. His words are; Αξρααμ δε ὁμολογεσιν και Ισαακ, και Ιακωβ, Μωσην τε και Ααρων, Ιησυν τε τον τε Ναυη, ἀπλως διαδξα-

\* Will those who pronounce the Ebionites to have been the true Hebrew Christians, credit the veracity of this Father, when he represents them as believing that God committed the government of this world to *the Devil*, of the world to come, to *the Christ*, and that *the Christ*, who was a celestial being, superior to the archangels themselves, descended upon, and was united to the man *Jesus* at his baptism? And yet, among other absurdities, this he precisely delivers as their creed; Δυο δε σινας συνισωσιν εκ Θεου τεταγμενους, ἕνα μὲν τον Χριστον, ἕνα δε τον Διαβολον. Και τον μὲν Χριστον λεγουν τε μελλοντος αιωνου ειληφεναι τον κληρον, τον δε Διαβολον τετον πεπιστευσθαι τον αιωνα, εκ προσαγγελου δηθεν του παντοκρατορος κατα αιτησιν ἑκατερων αυτων. Και τουτου ἕνεκα Ιησυν γεγεννημενον εκ σπερματος ανδρος λεγουσιν, και επιλεχθεντα, και ἔτω κατα εκλογην υιον Θεου κληθεντα, απο τε ανωθεν εις αυτον ἡκοντος Χριστου εν ειδει περισερας. Ου φασκουσι δε εκ Θεου πατρος αυτου γεγεννησθαι, αλλα εκτισθαι, ὡς ἕνα των αρχαγγελων, μειζονα δε αυτων οντα, αυτον δε κυριευσιν και αγγελων και παντων ὑπο του παντοκρατορος πεποιημενων. Hæres. 30. § 16. And in § 14, their belief is expressly said to have been, that the Christ was συναφθεντα, *conglutinated with the man Jesus*.

μενον Μωυσεα, ουδεν τε οντα μετα τεςτες δε ουκετι ομολογουσι τινα των προφητων, αλλα και αναθεματιζεσι και χλευαζεσι. . . . ουτε γαρ δεχονται την Πεντατευχον Μωυσεως υλην, αλλα τινα ρηματα αποβαλλεσιν. § 18. If therefore, from the testimony of Epiphanius, and upon the credit of the Ebionites, a sect which, nevertheless, this very author describes as resembling that portentous pest of antiquity, the fabled Hydra, (πολυμορφον τερασιον, και ως ειπειν της μυθεουμενης πολυκεφαλα Ἰδρας οφιωδη μορφην εν εαυτω ανατυπωσαμενος, §. 1.) we expunge from the Canon of the New Testament any portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew, must we not, to be consistent with ourselves, from the same testimony, and upon the same credit, expunge also from the Canon of the Old Testament the whole body of the inspired prophets, and admit even the Pentateuch itself under a suspicion, that some parts of our existing copies have been interpolated? Surely this inevitable conclusion will gratify neither side; and will at least prove highly unpalatable to those Unitarians, who think with Mr. Stone, that "Jewish prophecy is the sole criterion to distinguish between genuine and spurious Christian Scripture."\*

But let us consider more minutely the character of this boasted Gospel of the Ebionites. The production itself is lost; and nothing remains of it, except a few extracts, preserved in the writings of the Fathers. It was called "the

\* See a singular sermon under this title, preached at a Visitation in Essex by Mr. Stone. I have not here noticed the testimony of Eusebius, who remarks, that the Ebionites also rejected the Epistles of St. Paul whom they denominated an Apostate. Οἱ τοῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν Ἀποστολὴ πᾶσας τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀρνητέας ἠγαστο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστατὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ. Hist. lib. iii. c. 27. I have not noticed this circumstance, because the question solely turns upon the testimony of Epiphanius. If however we admit it, and it surely stands on higher authority than the other alluded to, we shall be under the necessity of rejecting a still larger portion of the New Testament, unless we abandon the fidelity of Ebionite Scripture altogether.

Gospel according to the Hebrews," and was certainly known under that title to Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome; the latter of whom, obtaining a correct copy of it from the Nazarenes, translated it both into Greek and Latin. As so much has been said upon this subject both by Jones and Michælis, it seems not necessary to dwell upon it minutely. Clemens Alexandrinus simply refers to it, quoting a passage not in the Greek copy of St. Matthew, or of any other Gospel. Origen likewise quotes from it in the same way, speaking of it as not of any decided authority. His words are, "Si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud, non *ad auctoritatem*, sed ad *manifestationem* propositæ quæstionis." If any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority but only for the illustration of the present question.\* Eusebius notices, that it was used by the Ebonites, who, he adds, very little esteemed any other; των λοιπων σμικρον επισειντο λογον.† Jerome, in his catalogue of Illustrious Men, certainly seems to describe it as the original Hebrew text of St. Matthew;‡ but in other parts of his works he represents it, in one place, as a Gospel which most *think* to be the Gospel according to St. Matthew, ut plerique *autumant*;§ in another, as a Gospel which is *called* by many the authentic Gospel of St. Matthew;|| and at the beginning of his third book against the Pelagians he considers it as a document which, if its *authority* be not admitted, may at least be used out of respect to it *antiquity*; "quibus testimoniis, si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem."¶ Hence Michælis, after a particular examination of Jerome's different allusions to it, says, "I am far from supposing that Jerome took the Nazarene Gospel for the *unadulte-*

\* Jones on the Canon, Part II. chap. 25. § 3.

† Ibid. § 5.

‡ Ibid. § 13.

§ Ibid. § 15.

|| Jones on the Canon, Part II. chap. 25. §. 21.

¶ Michælis's Introduction, vol. iii. part i. p. 182.

rated original, as it is evident, from the quotations which he has made from it, that it abounded with interpolations.”\* And of the same opinion is Michælis’s “learned and acute translator and annotator, Dr. Herbert Marsh,” as the authors of this Version justly denominate a biblical critic of the first celebrity, who remarks, that even when Jerome seems to describe it as the original text of St. Matthew, “he does not declare that it was really St. Matthew’s *unadulterated* original. Indeed if he had supposed so, he could not have used at other times the expressions, ‘*quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,*’ and ‘*ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum.*”† Indeed both these critics, upon a general view of the question, represent this Gospel as evidently a garbled production, and by no means the true Hebrew original of St. Matthew. Nor in their condemnation of it do they depart from the decisions of preceding critics. To omit such names as Casaubon, Mill, Whitby, Fabricius, and Le Clerc; the “learned” Jeremiah Jones, and the “venerable” Lardner, critics admired by the Unitarians, held precisely the same sentiments. The former writer was so fully convinced of its illegitimacy, that he adduces at some length (c. 29.) what he considers as positive proofs that it was apocry-

\* Michælis’s Introduction, vol. iii. part i. p. 182.

† Michælis’s Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 134. That Jerome had no higher opinion of it than the other Fathers, is asserted also by Jones, who makes the following remarks upon a passage or two of Jerome, unfavourable to its authenticity, which I have not above referred to. “He (Jerome) expressly saith, *It was the same with the Gospel entitled, according to the Twelve Apostles;* (see c. 25. §. 15.) but this he expressly rejects as *Apoeryphal* in another place, (c. 7. §. 5.) and as a book of the *heretics, wrote by men destitute of the spirit and grace of God, without a due regard to truth,* c. 7. §. 4. The same appears from this manner of citing it in several of the places above, c. 25. For instance, in that there produced, §. 18. he introduces his citations thus; *He who will believe the Gospel according to the Hebrews.*” On the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 23.



phal." The latter regarded it as a compilation subsequent in point of time to the genuine Gospels, principally indeed formed upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, but having inserted in it various "additions of things taken out of St. Luke's, (and perhaps other Gospels,) and other matters, that had been delivered by oral tradition."\*

That the argument however may have a due weight given to it in all its different bearings, I will even admit the external character of the document to stand as high as the Unitarians themselves would place it; and shall be satisfied to rest my proofs wholly upon the apocryphal complexion of its internal character. Among other passages of a suspicious nature occurs the following: "Behold the mother and brethren of Christ spake to him; *John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him.* He said to them, *In what have I sinned, that I have any need to go and to be baptized by him?* Unless my saying this proceed perhaps from ignorance."† Again, in another part, our Saviour says, *The Holy Ghost, my mother, took me by one of my hairs, and led me to the great mountain Thabor.*‡ Will

\* Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. i. p. 185. Ed. 1748.

† "Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Johannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis, Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est." Quotation from Jerome in Jones, *ibid.* §. 15. In another chapter (29th) the same author makes the following comment upon this quotation. The meaning of this passage will be best perceived from a parallel one in another apocryphal book, entitled, *The Preaching of Peter*, in which it was related, *that Christ confessed his sins, and was compelled, contrary to his own inclinations, by his mother Mary to submit to the baptism of John.*"

‡ Ἀρτι ελαβε με ἡ μητηρ μου το ἅγιον πνευμα, εν μιστων τριχων μου και απενεγκε με εις το ορος το μεγα Θαβωρ. Quotation from Origen, *ibid.* c. 25. § 4. If certain passages are to be rejected upon the credit of this document, why are not others to be inserted? Why, for

it be maintained, that a passage is to be received into the Canon of Scripture, which asserts, that our blessed Saviour required the baptism of John for the remission of such sins as he had ignorantly committed, in direct contradiction to the testimony of St. Paul, that *he knew no sin*, 2 Cor v. 21? Or if it be, will not the authenticity of the other quotation at least be considered as dubious, in which *the Holy Spirit* is expressly termed *the mother of Christ*, and represented, in order to make the transaction more miraculous, as conveying him to a lofty mountain by *one* of the hairs of his head? Can passages like these be so twisted by the tortuous lubricity of theological comment, as to elude the grasp of indignant criticism?

But the very commencement itself of this singular production, as it is stated by Epiphanius, sufficiently betrays its illegitimacy. The Translators of the New Version give us the following information: "The Gospel," they say, of the Ebionites or Hebrews, which did not contain the account of the miraculous conception of Jesus, began in this manner; "*It came to pass in the days of Herod king of Judea, that John came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan.* See Epiphanius, and Jer. Jones." But in the preceding note they had thus reasoned: "If it be true, as Luke relates, c. iii. 23. that Jesus was entering upon his thirtieth year in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he must have been born *two years at least after the death of Herod*; a circumstance which alone invalidates the whole story." Now it is something singular, that, while they object to the

example, after Matthew xix. 20. in which our Saviour says to the rich man, "Go and sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and come and follow me," is not the following reading added as at least probable; "The rich man hereupon began to scratch his head, (scalpere caput suum,) and was displeased, &c.?" See Jones on the Canon, *ibid.* § 5. Doubtless the same document cannot be less competent to authorize an addition, than an omission.

text of St. Matthew, because it fixes our Saviour's birth in the days of Herod the king, who really died, they add, *two years before*, they should at the same time contend for the authenticity of a document, which not only supposes that Christ was born in the reign of Herod, but that Herod was still living when our Saviour was in his *thirtieth* year, at the period of the Baptist's public appearance in the discharge of his mission. Leaving them however to vindicate their own consistency, I shall confine myself to the simple statement of the fact. Epiphanius expressly declares, that the Gospel of the Ebionites began with an account of John's baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the days of *Herod, king of Judea*, who, it is agreed on all sides, was dead many years before. If therefore Epiphanius's relation be true, and this Gospel began as he describes it, an anachronism of an extraordinary kind is apparent at its very outset, which instantly subverts the foundation of the whole Unitarian argument; and if it be not true, then the commencement of this Gospel is rendered uncertain, and the hypothesis raised upon it falls to the ground at once of its own accord. Whether his knowledge of this Gospel were derived from ocular inspection or from vague report, he is admitted to have misrepresented it; and if he be inaccurate in one point, how can we trust him in another? It is of little consequence, whether his misrepresentation arose from inadvertence, ignorance, or malice; for if the fact be so in one, and that an important instance, surely it must render every part of his testimony suspicious.

In whatsoever point of view therefore we contemplate this document, it betrays evident traces of a spurious origin.

I have hitherto taken for granted, what the authors of the New Version affirm, that the Cerinthians and Carpocratians rejected the two first chapters of St. Matthew, with the exception of the Genealogy; and that the Ebionites rejected them altogether, without that exception. It may

however be questioned, whether this is not more than Epiphanius states. He certainly asserts, that the Gospel of the Ebionites began with an account of John the Baptist, which, as not occurring until the third chapter in the Greek Gospel, must of course exclude the preceding chapters; but he does not assert, that the Gospel of the Cerinthians and Carpocratians began in the same manner: on the contrary he tells us, that it commenced with the Genealogy, precisely as the Greek Gospel commences. The latter sects, it is true, used a Hebrew Gospel in many respects similar to that of the Ebionites, but evidently not in all, as the difference alluded to indisputably proves. The Cerinthians and Carpocratians therefore, as far as the testimony of Epiphanius goes, may be supposed to have retained the whole, as well as a part of the disputed chapters. Indeed, in another place, he expressly argues against the opinions of the Cerinthians, from a passage in the same chapters, subsequent to the Genealogy, viz. from Mat. i. 18, which he would scarcely perhaps have done, had not the passage been received by them as genuine. His words are these: Πως δε παλιν εκ ελεγχθησεται αυτων η ανοια της Ευαγγελις σαφως λεγοντος, οτι ευρεθη εν γαστρι εχυσσα, πριν η συνελθειν αυτης.\*

Let us then briefly consider the deduction of the Unitarians from the premises which have been stated. The two first chapters of St. Matthew, they say, were not contained in the Hebrew Gospel of the Ebionites, therefore they are to be rejected; but a portion of them, about one fourth of the whole, was found in the Hebrew Gospel of the Cerinthians and Carpocratians, therefore this portion is to be retained, and the remainder only to be rejected. Is there not however a fallacy in the conclusion thus hastily drawn? The rejection of the three parts in question cannot well be made to depend upon the credit of the Ce-

\* Hæres. 27. † 7.

rinthian and Carpocratian Gospel, because it is not asserted to have been deficient in these respects ; it must solely rest upon that of the Gospel of the Ebionites. But it must be admitted, that the Gospel in question was but a mutilated copy of St. Matthew at best, as it possessed not the Genealogy. If therefore its credit be more than questionable in the non-admission of one, and that a prominent part, how is it to be established in the non-admission of the remaining parts? Would the same hand, which avowedly cut away the Genealogy, scruple to remove also the account of the miraculous conception, and the other events subsequently recorded in these chapters?

But the authors of the New Version, it may be said, depend not wholly upon the testimony of Epiphanius. They introduce Jerome also as an auxiliary in their cause, certainly a more correct, more learned, and better informed writer, who, they observe, “assures us, that the two chapters were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites.” So indeed they observe ; yet may they be challenged to produce a single passage from the voluminous writings of Jerome, in which any assurance of the kind alluded to is either expressed or implied. On the contrary, it seems not difficult to show, that the testimony of Jerome makes completely against them. This Father, it should be recollected, translated into Greek and Latin the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and must therefore have been well acquainted with its contents. In his Catalogue of Illustrious Writers he makes the following allusion to it : “Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit ; in quo animadvertendum, quod ubicunque Evangelista, sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini Salvatoris Veteris Scripturæ testimoniis utitur, non sequatur Septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed *Hebraicam*: è quibus illa duo sunt *Ex Ægypto vocavi Filium meum*, et, *Quoniam Nazarus vocabitur*. The Nazaræans, who live in Berœa, a



city of Syria, and make use of this volume, granted me the favour of writing it out; in which Gospel there is this observable, that wherever the Evangelist either cites himself, or introduces our Saviour as citing any passage out of the Old Testament, he does not follow the translation of the LXX. but the *Hebrew* copies, of which there are these two instances; viz. that, *Out of Egypt I have called my Son*; and that, *He shall be called a Nazarene.*"\* Is it not hence evident, that the second of these disputed chapters at least, where these passages occur, was contained in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which both Jerome and Eusebius represent as the Gospel also of the Ebionites?† What then becomes of the supposed assurance of Jerome? And what credit is due to the assertions of those, who are too indolent, for I cannot suppose them too ignorant, to examine the authorities, to which they appeal for the truth of their statements?

\* Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part i. chap. 25. § 13. See also Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part i. p. 166, 7; and Marsh's Notes, part ii. p. 130, 1. I have omitted the other proofs advanced by Michaelis, and more ably urged by his Annotator, because the single proof referred to seems perfectly satisfactory. I shall however add here the conclusion of Dr. Marsh: "It appears," he remarks, "from Notes 10, 11, to this section, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes contained, at least, the second chapter of St. Matthew. We must conclude therefore, from the connexion of the subject, that it contained likewise *the eight last verses of the first chapter, which are so closely connected with the second chapter, that no separation can well take place.* The only doubt therefore is, whether "it contained the *Genealogy, Matt. i. 1—17.*" Ibid. p. 137.

† I have considered the same *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as used both by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. Many critics have indeed surmised, that some little difference existed between the respective copies of these sects; but as this surmise principally rests on the credit of Epiphanius's quotations, I have omitted to notice it, particularly as the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome is direct to the point, and as the Authors of the New Version themselves identify the Gospel of the Nazarenes with that of the Ebionites.

Still however they may remark, unwilling to abandon the accuracy of Epiphanius, that something perhaps may be discovered in the extracts from the Gospel of the Ebionites, furnished by other writers, to corroborate the general credit of his testimony. But, unfortunately, here again the fact is completely on the other side; and something may be found not to corroborate, but to invalidate his testimony. In the very passage where he speaks of the commencement of this Gospel, he adds the following quota-  
 “ Ἦλθε και Ἰησους και εβαπτισθη ὑπο του Ἰωαννου· και ὡς ανεληθεν απο τῆς ὑδατος, ηνοιγησαν οἱ οὐρανοι, και ειδε το Πνευμα του Θεου το Ἅγιον εν ειδει περιετρας κατελθουσης και εισηλθουσης εις αυτον. Και φωνη εγενετο εκ τῆς οὐρανης λεγουσα· Συ με ει ὁ υἱος ὁ αγαπητος, εν σοι ηυδοκησα. Και παλιν, Εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε. Jesus also went and was baptized by John: and as he ascended out of the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God in the form of a dove descending and entering into him, and a voice was made from heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*; and then another, *I have this day begotten thee.*”\* Such is the extract of Epiphanius. Let this be compared with the subsequent extract made by Jerome relative to the same transaction, and the difference must appear remarkable. “Factum est autem, quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et requievit super eum, et dixit ei; Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis exspectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te; tu es enim requies mea; tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum. It came to pass, when the Lord ascended from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost descended and rested upon him, and said to him, *My Son, among (or during all the time of) all the Prophets I was waiting for thy coming, that I might rest upon thee; for thou art my rest; thou art*

\* Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 35. §. 11.

my first begotten Son, who shall reign to everlasting ages.”\* How are these varying passages to be reconciled? Both profess to be taken from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. That quoted by Jerome, indisputably was; that quoted by Epiphanius rests on the simple affirmation of the writer, unsupported by any collateral evidence, and made by one, whose character for accuracy is, to say the best of it, at least questionable. Can we possibly for a moment hesitate to determine on which side the balance of credibility preponderates?

Having thus endeavoured to demonstrate, that if, in order to be consistent, we adopt the Scriptures of the Ebionites in all respects, who are stated to have rejected the two first chapters of St. Matthew, little will be left to us either of the Old Testament or the New; that their Gospel, as appears both from its external and internal evidence, could not have been the original of St. Matthew; and that, even if it had, we might have still inferred, from the testimony of Jerome, that certainly one, and perhaps both of the disputed chapters were contained in it; I might here conclude the discussion: but, by way of satisfying those who conceive a Hebrew acknowledgment of these chapters to be important, I shall previously remark, that a particular passage in them was distinctly referred to by an Hebrew Christian of a very early age. Hegesippus, who lived at a period immediately subsequent to the apostolical, ἐπι τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς, as Eusebius informs us, speaking of Domitian, observed, that he too, dreaded the coming of Christ, *as well as Herod*; εφοβείτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης:† upon which reference of Hegesippus, it will be only necessary to give the opinion of *Lardner*. “This passage,” says that

\* Ibid. † 16. This indeed is the only extract which Epiphanius has in common with any other Father, and the difference we perceive is remarkable.

† Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. chap. 19. † 20.

discriminating writer, “deserves to be remarked. It contains a reference to the history in the *second chapter* of St. Matthew, and shews plainly, that this part of St. Matthew’s Gospel was owned by this Hebrew Christian.”\*

I should likewise add, that, although I have considered the document so often quoted, in order to preserve the thread of the Unitarian argument without interruption, as principally fabricated from the Gospel of St. Matthew, because such seem certainly to have been the sentiments of the early writers, I am far from admitting this point as clearly proved. The Fathers appear to have so considered it from the circumstance of its being the only Hebrew Gospel with which they were at all acquainted, combined with their persuasion, that St. Matthew himself wrote in that language. It is nevertheless evident from the fragments of it still extant, that in many respects it is not only very different from the Greek of St. Matthew, but often closely copied from the other Gospels. In the extracts given by Epiphanius it bears a strong resemblance to St. Luke.† Dr. Marsh perhaps would say, that this only proves the author of the Gospel in question to have borrowed from the same source as St. Luke. But whether this reasoning

\* Credibility of the Gospel Hist. part ii. vol. i. p. 317.

† The following parallel passages occur in St. Luke, and not in St. Matthew; Εγενετο τις ανηρ ονοματι Ιησους, και αυτος ως ετων τριακοντα εισηλθεν εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 25. §. 11. Και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ωσει ετων τριακοντα, Luke iii. 23. Εισηλθεν εις την οικιαν Σιμωνος, Luke iv. 38. Σιμωνα τον Ζηλωτην, *ibid.* Σιμωνα τον καλουμενον Ζηλωτην, Luke iv. 15. Εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδς τς βασιλευς της Ιουδαιας, *ibid.* Εγενετο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδς τς βασιλευς της Ισδαιας, Luke i. 5. Βαπτισμα μετανοιας, *ibid.* Βαπτισμα μετανοιας, Luke iii. 3. The same expression is also found in Mark i. 4. The parentage of John the Baptist is likewise given, which no one of the Evangelists records, except St. Luke. Συ με ει ο υιος ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ηυδοκησα, *ibid.* Συ ει ο υιος

be correct, or not, it is sufficient for my purpose simply to note the fact, that in the extracts made by Epiphanius a verbal resemblance to St. Luke is in several instances strikingly visible.

Upon the whole therefore I have rendered it, I trust, more than probable that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, whatsoever might have been its pristine state, if indeed it ever laid claim to apostolical purity, cannot, in the state in which it is known to us, be correctly considered as the unadulterated original of St. Matthew. And of this perhaps our new Translators themselves feel a little conscious; otherwise they would scarcely have been satisfied with pointing out certain passages for rejection, without suggesting also certain additions, unless indeed they apprehended (which I rather suspect to have been the case) that the absurdity evident in some of these would have shaken the credit of their whole argument.

μὲν ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠυδοκῆσα, Luke iii. 22. In St. Matthew the words are, Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ἠυδοκῆσα, chap. iii. 17. Ἐγὼ σημεῖον γεγεννηκα σε. It is singular that these words did not occur in the text of St. Luke, but were nevertheless read in the following MSS. and Fathers, &c., referred to by Griesbach, “D. Cant veron. verc. colb. corb\*. Clem. Method. Hilar. Lactant. Jur. Faustus manich. ap. Aug. Codd. ap. Aug. qui tamen monet in *antiquioribus* græcis hæc non inveniri.” Μη ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθυμῆσα κρέας τετο το πασχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν; Epiph. Hæres. 30. §. 22. Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθυμῆσα τετο το πασχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν. Luke xxii. 15. Here, if Epiphanius is to be credited in his extract, is a manifest perversion of our Saviour’s meaning, at war with the context, by giving an *interrogative* turn to the sentence, in order to sanction the Ebionite principle of abstaining from animal food. Is it possible after this to contemplate the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as represented to us by Epiphanius: in any other light than as a garbled and spurious production? Nor indeed, do the quotations of it, preserved by Origen and Jerome, place it in a more respectable point of view.



### CHAP. III.

#### *Authenticity of the two first Chapters of St. Luke.*

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I HAVE not interfered in the former instance, nor do I mean to interfere in this, with the *conjectural* ground for the rejection of Scripture advanced by the Translators of this Version, because arguments similar to those which are used by them have been already often adduced, and as often refuted ; because in some instances the most satisfactory answers are given by the very authors, to whom they refer for support ; and because, above all, I am fully persuaded that the slippery system itself of conjectural criticism rests on no solid foundation. But where a sort of authority is appealed to, I shall consider its validity.

The translators say ; “ The two first chapters of this Gospel were wanting in the copies used by Marcion, a reputed heretic of the second century ; who, though he is represented by his adversaries as holding some extravagant opinions, was a man of learning and integrity, for any thing that appears to the contrary. He, like some moderns, rejected all the Evangelical histories excepting Luke, of which he contended that his own was a correct and authentic copy.”

I shall not undertake to discuss the collateral question respecting the learning and integrity of Marcion ; because it is perhaps of little importance in itself, and because we have no sure data from which we can form an impartial decision upon the subject. For the *odium theologicum* in the breasts of his adversaries, great allowance, I am aware, is to be made : but I must enter my unqualified protest

against the Unitarian mode of constantly interpreting the Orthodox representation of an heretical character by the rule of contraries ; of uniformly reading for vice, virtue ; for folly, talent ; and for want of principle, integrity. But as the Authors of this Version seem disposed to sacrifice the universal persuasion of antiquity, upon the subject of St. Luke's text, to the particular opinion of Marcion, let us examine a little the nature and extent of his testimony. We are told, that the two first chapters were wanting in the copies used by him ; and yet the four first verses are retained as indisputably genuine. How is this contradiction to be reconciled ? Certainly some explanation of it should have been given. Were the four first verses retained simply for the convenience of an additional argument, in order to identify beyond dispute the writer of this Gospel with the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, and so to deduce from that circumstance the following ingenious display of criticism ? " The Evangelist," it is observed, " in his preface to the Acts of the Apostles, reminds his friend Theophilus, Acts i. 1. that this former history contained an account of the public ministry of Jesus, but makes no allusion to the remarkable incidents contained in the two first chapters, which *therefore* probably were not written by him ;" as if, when an author refers to a former production, simply to point out its connexion with the one which he is composing, he must always be supposed distinctly to enumerate every subject contained in it. Should this be the only reason for esteeming the four verses in question genuine, our new Translators surely treat their favourite Marcion, whose single authority they have to plead for rejecting the remainder of these chapters, very unceremoniously and contemptuously, because he expressly considered them also as spurious. As they appear not to have investigated very accurately the testimony upon which they rely, I shall point out to them what it really was, and will take my proofs from a work with which they are

themselves doubtless well acquainted, “Lardner’s History of Heretics.”

Epiphanius, from whom we learn most respecting the Gospel in question, informs, us, that it resembles the Gospel of St. Luke, much mutilated, being defective both in the beginning, the middle, and the end; particularly that at the beginning it wanted the *Preface*, (viz. the four verses still retained in the New Version,) and the account of Elizabeth, of the salutation of the Angel of the Virgin Mary, of John and Zacharias, of the nativity at Bethlehem, of *the Genealogy*, and of *the Baptism*. ‘Ο μὲν γὰρ χαρακτήρ τῆς κατὰ Λεβκᾶν σημαίνει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς δὲ ἠκρωτηριασῆαι, μὴτε ἀρχὴν ἔχων, μὴτε μέσα, μὴτε τέλος, ἵματις βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ πολλῶν σήτων ἐπέχει τὸν τροπὸν· εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντα τὰ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τῆς Λεβκᾶ πεπραγματευμένα, τὰτ’ ἐσὶν ὡς λέγει· ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχειρήσαν καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου εὐαγγέλιζομένου τὴν Μαριαν παρθένον, Ἰωάννη τῆς καὶ Ζαχαρίας, καὶ τῆς ἐν Βεθλὲμ γεννησεως, γενεαλογίας, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Βαπτισματος ὑποδείσεως· ταῦτα πάντα περικόψας ἀπεπηδήσε. Hær. 42. §. 11.\* Hence therefore it appears, that Marcion rejected the Preface which the New Version admits, and also that part at least of the *third* chapter which contains the particulars of our Saviour’s *Baptism* and *Genealogy*, a defalcation more extensive than the modest lop of the Unitarians.† But this

\* Lardner’s History of Heretics, p. 250. note q.

† Epiphanius indeed, immediately after the words above quoted from him by Lardner, says, that the Gospel of Marcion began thus; “In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, &c.” Καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς εὐαγγελίας ἐταξε ταύτην. Ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκατῷ ἔτει Τιβέριου Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ἕξῃς. But he adds, that Marcion preserved no regular order of narration, τὰ δὲ προσιδήσιν ἀνω κατω, ἐκ ὀρθῶς βαδίζων, ἀλλὰ ἐρραδιεργημένως πάντα περινοσεων. Besides, as he had just asserted the omission of the *Baptism* and *Genealogy* it seems impossible that he could have been either so absurd, or so forgetful, as directly to contradict himself in the very next sentence. Theodoret also mentions

is not all. *Lardner* contends, that not a single passage of St. Luke, with the exception of the words, “*In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar,*” from the *first* verse of the *first* chapter, down to the *thirteenth* verse of the *fourth* chapter inclusive, was to be found in the Gospel of Marcion. His argument is principally grounded upon the following extract from Tertullian: “Anno quinto decimo principatus Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galileæ Capernaum;” *Contra Marc. lib. iv. §. 7.* which he considers as given by Tertullian for the commencement of Marcion’s Gospel, and which he thus translates: “In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, God descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee.” Now as we are assured by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, that Marcion believed Jesus to be a celestial Being, or real divinity, sent from the supreme God, who was superior to the Creator of the world; and as we read, Luke iv. 31. that Jesus “went down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee;” these circumstances alone, without any additional reasoning, seem almost indisputably to prove, that the *thirty-first* verse of the *fourth* chapter, with the simple date of the period prefixed, was the precise commencement of this Gospel, as pointed out by Tertullian.\*

Independently of this complete abscission, Epiphanius gives at large a variety of other omissions, and of interpolations, which he dwells upon minutely.

If then our new Translators conceive the whole of Mar-

Marcion’s rejection of the Genealogy, και την γενεαλογιαν περικοψας &c. *Lardner, ibid. p. 250:*

\* Marcion, it is obvious, could not, consistently with his principles, have acknowledged the *Baptism* and *Genealogy*: neither, for the same reason, could he have admitted the *Temptation*, and the *Discourses in the Synagogue*, contained in the fourth chapter, as both occurrences are connected with allusions to the Old Testament; and we shall presently see how free he made with these.

cion's evidence to be valuable, why do they adopt one part and neglect the other? Why do they not likewise fairly tell us to what extent we must proceed, if we regulate our Canon of Scripture by his rule? There is no doubt of his having disavowed every Gospel but his own, of his having received no other part of the New Testament except certain Epistles of St. Paul garbled, and of his having rejected altogether the writings of the Old Testament.\* Hence surely some little perplexity must arise, when we attempt to reconcile the canon of the Marcionites and the Ebionites, (whose assistance in purifying the Gospel of St. Matthew must not be forgotten,) without sacrificing the credit of either. The Ebionites rejected only a part of the Old Testament, retaining the greatest portion of the Pentateuch at least: the Marcionites rejected the whole. The Marcionites received almost all St. Paul's Epistles; the Ebionites held that Apostle and his writings in abhorrence. Both indeed agreed in repudiating every Gospel except their own; but unfortunately their respective Gospels were widely different from each other. Reduced to this lamentable dilemma, can we act with greater wisdom than to abandon both Ebionites and Marcionites; to prefer simplicity to fraud, and consistency to contradiction?

But, waving every other consideration, let us examine a little some of the internal pretensions of Marcion's Gospel to legitimacy. Among the extravagant opinions imputed to him, were the following: that the Creator of the *invisible* world was a Deity distinct from, and superior to, the Creator of the visible world; the former being goodness itself, the latter good and evil; the latter God of the Old, the former the God of the New Testament: the Jesus was the Son of the Supreme Deity, assuming that appearance of manhood when he first descended from heaven, and was seen in Capernaum, a city of Galilee;

\* Lardner, *Ibid.*



and that a principle part of his mission was to destroy the Law and the Prophets, or the revelation of that inferior God, who created only the visible world. Hence Marcion found it convenient to get rid of every allusion to our Saviour's nativity, because he objected to believe that Jesus was *man*, certainly not upon the Unitarian principle, of objecting to believe that he was *more* than man; and thus we find his Gospel commencing precisely where we might have expected it to commence.

A favourite text with the Marcionites was, Luke viii. 21. in which our Saviour says, "My mother and my brethren are those who hear the Word of God, and do it;" because they considered it as proving that Christ, owned no mortal consanguinity: but the 19th verse stood directly in their way, "Then came to him *his mother and his brethren*, and could not come at him for the press;" the words therefore, *his mother and his brethren*, they expunged. If it be said, might not the same words have been wanting in the genuine copies of St. Luke? the answer is obvious: they certainly might have been; but what proof is there that they were? Are they omitted in any of the three hundred and fifty-five manuscripts which have been collated, or in any of the versions? Not in one. And do they not seem necessary to the connexion of the subsequent verse, in which it is observed, "And it was told him by certain, which said, Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee?" Besides, we perceive these very expressions in the genuine Gospel of St. Matthew, (c. xii. 46.) where the same transaction is recorded. Could they have been inserted there by the hand of some wicked Ebionite? This however the Unitarians cannot consistently allow; because, in their judgment, the Ebionites were no interpolators. Must we not then conclude, when, as in this instance, an omission is pleaded in the Gospel which occurs not in another, which also destroys the connexion of the context, and which the

party defending it has an interest in supporting, that the theological pruning-hook has been indisputably at work ?

Again: our Saviour addresses his heavenly Father as "Lord of Heaven and Earth," Luke x. 11; an appellation which completely militated against the creed of Marcion, who distinguished between the Lord *of heaven*, (that is, the heaven of heavens,) or the Lord of the *invisible* world, and the Lord of *the earth*, or the Lord of the *terrestrial and visible* world. We therefore find, that in his Gospel the latter part of the appellation was suppressed, our Saviour being introduced as only using the terms, "Lord of heaven." But since precisely the same expressions, "Lord of heaven *and earth*," are read in St. Matthew, (c. xi. 25.) and since Marcion, as we have seen, had private reasons for the omission, we cannot surely hesitate in determining which is the genuine text.

The greatest liberty however seems to have been taken with those passages which tend to confirm the authority of the Old Testament. Hence were omitted, in the eleventh chapter of St. Luke, the verses 30, 31, and 32, which alluded to Jonah, to the Queen of the South, to Solomon and to Nineveh; and the verses 49, 50, 51, which speak of the blood of the prophets, and of Able and Zacharias: in the nineteenth chapter, the verses 45, 46, in which our Saviour expels the money-changers from the Temple: in the twentieth chapter, the verses 17, 18, in which occurs a quotation from the Psalms; and the verses 37, 38, where an allusion is made to the divine vision exhibited in the bush to Moses: in the twenty-first chapter, the verses 21, 22, which recognize a prophecy of Daniel: and in the twenty-second chapter, the verses 35, 36, and 37, in the last of which a prophecy of Isaiah is represented as about to be accomplished. Now every one of these texts, omitted, by Marcion, are to be found in the corresponding passages *both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark*, except the two first and the last, the former of which however

are in St. Matthew, and the latter is in St. Mark. And it should be observed, that these are\* the principle texts of St. Luke, in which the Old Testament is quoted with distinct approbation. There are indeed two passages of this description, which were not erased; viz. Luke xiii. 28. and Luke xxiv. 25. but these were ingeniously accommodated to the doctrine of the Marcionites. In the first it is said, "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out." Here, instead of "when ye shall see *Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob and the prophets*, in the kingdom of God." Marcion read, "when ye shall see *all the just* in the kingdom of God." In the second passage, our Sa-

\* Perhaps if to those, which are mentioned above, we add Luke xviii. 31, 32, 33, we may say all; and these likewise were omitted by Marcion, as the first of them asserted, that "All things which are written *by the Prophets* concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished." Indeed a similar declaration is made, Luke xxiv. 44, 45, 46; but I very much doubt whether Marcion's Gospel had any thing in common with St. Luke after the preceding verse, for the following reasons: Epiphanius states, that it was *defective* at the *end* as well as at the *beginning*, Hæres. 42. §. 11; and that he had proceeded regularly to the *end* in his refutations of every part in which Marcion had absurdly retained any expression of our Saviour hostile to his own doctrine: ἔτις ἕως ἑτέρας ὁ ἐξήλθον, ἐν οἷς φαίνεται ἡλιθίως καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐπι ταύτας τὰ παραμεινάσας τοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέξεις φυλασσῶν. §. 10. Now the last notice of this kind which he takes is contained in the 39th verse, the subject of which is concluded at the 43d verse. The result is obvious. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that in a former passage he had absolutely erased a declaration of the same nature, not indeed so fully expressed as this. Epiphanius, it is true, is in general sufficiently inaccurate; but if any dependence can be placed upon his statements, it is in the case of Marcion's Gospel and Apostolicon, which he professes to have read, and from which, for the object of refutation, he made, he says, numerous extracts.

viour thus addresses two of his disciples after his resurrection, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all *that the prophets have spoken.*" This he changed into "Slow of heart to believe all *that I have spoken to you.*"\*

When therefore these several circumstances are duly considered ; when we perceive so many omissions, and such striking deviations in Marcion's Gospel, all pointing one way, all tending to the support of his own peculiar system ; and when also we discover parallel passages in the genuine Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, sometimes in one, and sometimes in both of them, where the disputed expressions appear ; must it not argue an infantine credulity almost beyond example, a credulity, which no reflection can correct, no experience cure, to conceive it probable, that the text of Marcion was the unadulterated text of St. Luke ? What possible chance could have produced so great a variety of readings, and that at so early a period, all meeting in a common centre ? A result so uniform never surely could have been effected by a simple combination of contingencies, but must have been fraudulently secured by the loaded die "of a systematical theology." If the opinion of Lardner on this point be important, whose History of Heretics must be allowed to be sufficiently favourable to heresy, that also will be found adverse to the Unitarian argument. "Upon an impartial review," he observes, "of these alterations, some appear to be trifling, others might arise from the various readings of different copies : but many of them are undoubtedly *designed perversions*, intended to countenance, or at least not directly contradict,

\* It may be added, that in all the instances adduced, the Peshito, or old Syriac Version, is strictly conformable with our received Gospels, and directly against Marcion's ; an argument which may perhaps be of some weight with those who justly admit that Version "to be of the *most remote antiquity* and of the *highest authority.*" Introduction to the New Translation, p. 15.

those *absurd principles* which he and his followers espoused."\* But Le Clerc is more harsh in his censure; and hesitates not to term those absolutely mad, by whom the defalcation of the corrupted Gospel of Marcion are approved.†

Indeed the Translators of the New Version themselves, whatsoever convenience they may find in depriving of canonical authority the commencement of St. Luke's Gospel, because it was not to be found in "the copies of Marcion," do not always pay a similar regard to the same precious relicks of reputed heresy. It will not perhaps be denied, that the Scriptures of Marcion must be, in all respects, of equal validity; that the credit of his *Ἀποστολικὸν* must vie with that of his *Εὐαγγέλιον*, and that both must stand or fall together. Yet we find that in Galat. i. 1, where St. Paul calls himself an Apostle, not for men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead," Marcion omitted the words *God the Father*, in order, as Jerome observes, to point out that Christ raised himself up by *his own* power; Omittebat Marcion, *Καὶ Θεὸς πατὴρ* in ejus *Ἀποστολικῶ* volens exponere Christum, non a Deo patre, sed per semet ipsum suscitatum." Hieron. in Galat. i. 1.‡ But we do not find that these words are omitted, or even marked by italics, in the New Version: on the contrary, an argument is founded upon them in the notes, to prove that here Jesus Christ is distinguished from God, to whom he was subordinate, and by whose power, and not his own, he was raised from the dead." Were

\* History of Heretics, p. 261.

† Doccebat Marcion Christum venisse, ut opera Creatoris dissolveret. At de Christo nihil norat, nisi quod ex Novo Testamento acceperat, unde contrarium plane liquet; nisi quæcumque Marcionis sententiæ adversantur, quæ innumera sunt, insana licentia resecentur; quod nemo, *sui compos*, probaverit. Hist. Ecclesiastica, p. 649.

‡ Lardner's History of Heretics, p. 266.



the Translators aware of this circumstance? They could not have been well ignorant of it, as Griesbach, whose text they profess to follow, distinctly refers to it in a note. But they may have been negligent. Supposing this then to have been the case, let us proceed to another reading in the Apostolicon, which they certainly did not overlook, viz. 1 Cor. xv. 47, because they expressly remark, that "Marcion is accused by Tertullian of inserting here the word κυριος." Our common reading runs thus: "The second man is the Lord from heaven;" ὁ δευτερος ανθρωπος ὁ κυριος ἐξ ορανα. This *he* read, "the second is *the* Lord from heaven;" ὁ δευτερος ὁ κυριος ἐξ ορανα: but *they* read, "the second *man* will be from heaven." Thus in the very teeth of his authority, they admit the word ανθρωπος, which he rejected, and reject the word κυριος, which he admitted; and even presume to found an argument for the rejection of the latter expression upon the circumstance of *his* having admitted, or, as they say, inserted it. Where is the consistency of all this? Nor does their dereliction of professed principle terminate here. They modestly observe in their Introduction, "If this Version of the Christian Scriptures possesses any merit, it is that of being translated from the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published," p. 8. Yet in the present instance, and this is not the only one of the kind,\* they

\* Another occurs 1 Cor. x. 9, where Marcion, Griesbach, and the received Text, all read, "Let us not tempt *Christ*;" which they change into, "Nor let us try (tempt) *the Lord*." It is true they take no notice of Marcion, but they seem to express their surprise that the word *Christ* "is retained by Griesbach, even in his second edition." They do not indeed any where represent Griesbach's text as absolutely perfect, yet they consider it as perfect as the *present* state of criticism will admit; for they say, "The Editors of this work offer it to the public as exhibiting to the English reader a text not indeed *absolutely perfect*, but approaching as nearly to the Apostolical and Evangelical originals, as the *present* state of sacred criticism will admit; nor do they hold it up as a faultless translation, &c." Introd. p. 30.

venture to discard "the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published," the text of Griesbach, that identical text, in which, as in one of the highest credit, they professed implicitly to confide; thus coolly throwing over-board the very pilot, to whose boasted guidance, in their passage through the perilous deeps of manuscript criticism, their inexperienced bark was avowedly committed.

But after all, what certain proof exists that the Marcionites themselves considered their Gospel as the composition of St. Luke? If the assertion of the new Translators be received, no doubt can be entertained upon the subject, because they advance this unqualified affirmation: "Marcion, like some moderns," (meaning, it is presumed, the admirers of Evanson, for the sect of Unitarianism is itself intersected,) "rejected all the Evangelical histories except St. Luke, of which he contended, that his own *was a correct and authentic copy.*" Instead, however, of pressing them with opposite authority myself, I shall simply confront their statement with the very different one of a critic, to whom both parties are disposed to listen with much deference; the "learned and acute" Annotator of Michaelis. "It has been very generally believed," says Dr. Marsh, "on the authority of Tertullian and Epiphanius, that Marcion wilfully corrupted the Gospel of St. Luke. Now it is true, that the long catalogue of Marcion's quotations, which Epiphanius has preserved in his forty-second Heresy, exhibits readings which materially differ from those of the corresponding passages in St. Luke's Gospel; consequently, *if* Marcion really derived those quotations from a copy of St. Luke's Gospel, that copy must have contained a text which in many places materially differed from our genuine text, though the question will still remain undecided, whether the alternations were made by Marcion himself, or whether he used a manuscript, in which they had been already made. But that Marcion used St. Luke'

Gospel at all, is a position which has been taken for granted, *without the least proof*. *Marcion himself never pretended* that it was the Gospel of St. Luke, as Tertullian acknowledges; saying, ‘*Marcion Evangelio suo nullum ascribit autorem,*’ Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 2. It is probable therefore that he used some *apocryphal* Gospel, which had much matter in common with that of St. Luke, but yet was not the same. On this subject see Griesbach, *Historia Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum*, p. 91, 92, and Loeffler’s dissertation entitled, ‘*Marcionem Pauli Epistolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubitatur,*’ which is printed in the first volume of the *Commentationes Theologicæ*”\*

As the opinions of Griesbach, to whom a reference is made, deservedly rank high in the estimation, not only of the world in general, but the Unitarians in particular, it may be proper to remark, that the argument of the German critic, in the passage above pointed out, tends to prove the impropriety of denominating Marcion a corrupter of St. Luke’s text, because he never represented his Gospel as written by that Apostle. The result, however, drawn by Griesbach himself from this position being different from that of Dr. Marsh, I shall give it in his own language: “*Hoc Marcioni propositum fuisse videtur, ut ex Evangelistarum, atque præsertim è Lucæ commentariis concinnaret succinctam de munere, quo Christus publicè functus erat, atque de ultimis fatibus ejus narrationem, ita adornatam,*

\* Marsh’s *Michælis*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 160. Dr. Marsh might have added a passage or two from Epiphanius, indirectly at least bearing on the same point. Instead of asserting that the Marcionites represented their Gospel as that of St. Luke, Epiphanius only says, that they used a Gospel which *resembled* that of St. Luke *μονῶ δὲ κερήται τῆστω τῶ χαρακτῆρι τῶ κατα Λεβαν Ευαγγελίῳ*, § 9, and that they themselves simply called it *the Gospel τὸ παρ’ αὐτῶν λεγομένον Ευαγγέλιον*, § 10.

ut inserviret illorum hominum usibus, qui quantum possunt longissimè a Judaismo discedere, eamque, ob causam, neglectis Vet. Test. libris, solis discipulorum Christi scriptis uti vellent, et hæc è philosophiæ suæ legibus interpretarentur. Talibus itaque lectoribus cum Evangelium *suum* destinaret, *collegit ex Evangelistarum scriptis ea, quæ huic hominum generi grata esse sciret, omissis omnibus, quæ lectoribus suis displicere potuissent.*"\*

Upon the whole then, taking a retrospective view of what has been advanced upon both topics, will Unitarian candour act unworthy of itself, if, instead of rejecting any part of St. Matthew's Gospel, upon the credit of the Ebionites, or any part of St. Luke's Gospel upon the credit of the Marcionites, it be disposed to give a due weight to that text, the authority of which no biblical critic of eminence has ever yet attempted to shake, if it put the concurrent testimony of antiquity, supported by the accu-

\* Perhaps the reader may not think me too minute if I subjoin the sentiments of another highly esteemed writer upon the same subject, the accurate and laborious Tillemont. It is this; Pour le Nouveau Testament, des quatre Evangiles il recevoit seulement une partie de celui de S. Luc, qu'il n'attribuoit néanmoins ni à S. Luc, ni à aucun autre des Apotres ou des disciples, ni à quelque personne que ce, fust. Dans la suite ses sectateurs l'attribuerent à *Jesus-Christ* mesme, disant néanmoins que S. Paul y avoit ajoute quelque chose comme l'histoire de la passion. Ils le changeoient tous les jours selon qu'ils estoient pressez par les Catholiques, en retranchant et y ajoutant ce qu'il leur plaisoit. Ils en ostoyent sur tout les passages, qui y sont citez de l'ancien Testament, et ceux ou le Sauveur reconnoist le Createur pour son pere. Histoire Eccles. vol. ii. p. 123. ed. 1732. It is curious to remark the different conclusions deduced by three respectable critics from the same premises. Tillemont conceives, that Marcion made his selections from the genuine Gospel of St. Luke; Dr. Marsh, not from the genuine, but from some apocryphal Gospel of the same Evangelist; and Griesbach, from St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark indiscriminately. All however coincide in the position, that Marcion did not assert his Evangelion to be "a correct and authentic copy of St. Luke."

rate collation of Manuscripts, Fathers, and Versions, into one scale, and throwing the spurious Gospel of Ebion, and the more spurious Gospel of Marcion, into the other, behold them ignominiously kick the beam ?

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## CHAP. IV.

### *Intermediate State between death and the Resurrection. Authenticity of Luke xxiii 43.*

As the Authors of this Version are manifestly disciples of those fond philosophers who desery, or fancy that they desery, in the page of Scripture the characteristical hues of their own ephemeral systems, so also do they appear to be of that peculiar sect which maintains, that human souls are material, that they are composed of a genuine corporeal substance, although of one so refined and subtle, that thousands of them, as it is quaintly but forcibly expressed by a Platonical writer\* of the seventeenth century,

\* Dr. Henry More, in his Divine Dialogues :—

“*Hyl.* Is it not incredible, Philotheus, if not impossible, that some thousands of spirits may dance or march on a needle’s point at once ?

“*Cuph.* I, and that booted and spurred too.” Vol. i. p. 90.

Having alluded to the Dialogues of this eccentric but amiable writer, whose talents as a metaphysician, philosopher, and divine were doubtless highly respectable, but whose imagination too frequently outran his judgment, I cannot avoid digressing a moment from my subject to notice, that from a passage in the same work, viz. the story of *the Eremite* and *the Angel*, related, p. 321—327, the celebrated “*Hermit*” of Parnell was evidently borrowed, not merely in the general circumstances of the narrative, with some slight deviations indeed, but sometimes in its very turn of expression ; a production which I have heard the late Mr. Burke pronounce to be, “*a Poem without a fault.*”



“can dance booted and spurred upon a needle’s point.” But whatsoever may be the creed of these Translators upon the particular doctrine of materialism, it is certain that they contend for the extinction of the soul with the body, and for the revivification of both together at the day of judgment. This opinion they clearly assert in a note upon Phil. i. 21. “For as concerning me, (rather a singular translation of *μοι γαρ*,) to live is Christ, and to die is gain” where they maintain, that the Apostle does not “express an expectation of an intermediate state between death and the resurrection,” but simply represents “a *quiet rest* in the grave, during that period, as preferable to a life of suffering and persecution.”

But it is not my present object to oppose their theological system, to pursue them from one labyrinth of Unitarian exposition to another through all the intricate mazes of metaphysical refinement; yet I cannot help reminding them, that one text at least in another Epistle of St. Paul, seems to make directly against their position, required a little explanation. It is this; “We are derirous rather to be *absent from the body* and to be *present with the Lord*,” 2 Cor. v. 8; a declaration which to common minds appears to imply, that the “*presence with the Lord*” here spoken of. must mean a presence *during the period of absence from the body*, a period immediately commencing with death, after the same manner as it was stated in the preceding verse, while we are *present* in the body, we are *absent* from the Lord.” This passage nevertheless is suffered to pass without a comment.

While, however, they here abstain from all explanatory remark, on another occasion they contrive to preclude the necessity of it altogether. The Sadducees are said to believe, “that there is no resurrection, nor angel, *nor* spirit, *μητε πνευμα*, Acts xxiii. 8.” Now the conjunction *μητε*, *nor*, they have chosen to translate *or*; “the Sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, nor angel, *or* spirit,” in

order to convey the idea of the word *spirit* being synonymous with that of *angel*, instead of being intentionally distinguished from it. It is perhaps a singular coincidence that the same translation should occur in an anonymous version of the New Testament, published at an early period in the preceding century by some person or persons well versed in the art of what the majority then denominated, and are still disposed to denominate, the art of unchristianizing the records of Christianity. I shall transcribe the animadversion made upon it at the time by the acute Twells, who volunteered on this, as on other occasions, the unpleasant duty of exposing ignorance and detecting subterfuge. "St. Luke says," observes that discriminating writer, "the Sadducees affirm, that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit. Gr. Μηδε αγγελον μητε πνευμα, i.e. they denied the existence of angels and also of souls separate from the body, that is, *spirits*. In all which they are represented to err. But the Translator has a device to keep his reader from seeing that the denial of spirits is one of the errors of *Sadducism*, by mistranslating μητε *or* instead of *nor*. *The Sadducees*, says he, *maintain there is neither resurrection, nor angel, or spirit*. So that according to him, *spirit* was but another name for *angel*."\*

Neither is this the only passage upon the point under consideration, in which both the Versions alluded to ac-

\* "Critical Examination of the late new Text and Version of the New Testament," Ed. 1731, p. 134. But why all this contrivance to expunge from Scripture a belief in the existence of disembodied spirits, when our Saviour himself expressly asserts it? For when his Apostles were terrified at his appearance after his resurrection, "and supposed that they had seen a *spirit*," he said to them, "*A spirit has not flesh and bones*, as ye see me "have," Luke xxiv. 29. Are the Unitarians bold enough to insinuate, that the Apostles only proved themselves on this occasion to be fools, and that our Saviour answered them according to their folly?

cord.\* That of the former period renders εἰς ἄδης, Acts ii. 27, *in the grave*, “because thou wilt not leave my soul *in the grave*,” which is also adopted by this of the present day, with the addition of a still wider deviation from the established Version, in translating τὴν ψυχὴν μου *my soul*, by the pronoun *me*, “because thou wilt not leave *me* in the grave.” I indeed admit that ψυχή is often put by synecdoche for the whole person, as Matthew xii. 18, “my beloved in whom *my soul*, i. e. I am well pleased;” but so also is the English word *soul* in the very same text. But does it therefore follow, that neither the Greek nor the English word has any other appropriate meaning? Surely we must perceive, that not the whole, but a peculiar part of man is directly pointed out, when our Saviour says, “Fear not them who kill *the body*, but cannot kill *the soul*, τὴν ψυχὴν;” Matt. x. 16. I am also aware that Grotius, in Matt. x. 36, argues for a *reciprocal* sense of the substantive ψυχή, in conjunction with a pronoun, as a sort of familiar Syriasm; but the application of this rule in the instance alleged is successfully opposed by Vorstius,† nor are other examples of it in the New Testament referred to by either Author. Besides, were it generally admissible the grammatical connexion of the word in the disputed text would preclude its influence; for to say, “thou wilt not leave *myself* in the grave,” would be little better than nonsense, and a direct violation of common syntax. If it be observed, that the context will determine the sense; this is precisely the point for which I am contending: for I maintain, that ἄδης cannot be correctly translated *the grave*, but always means *the receptacle of departed souls*, and consequently that ψυχή can only signify that part of man to which such a receptacle is appropriated. In proof

\* Ibid. p. 133.

† De Ebraïsmis Nov. Test. p. i. p. 120. 122.

of what I assert, it will be sufficient perhaps simply to appeal to Schleusner, Art. ἀόρατος, and to Wetstein in Luc. vxi. 23, whose "numerous and invaluable notes," as the Authors of the New Version themselves conceive, "supply an inexhaustible fund of theological and critical information."\* Both support their opinion by respectable references. Wetstein observes generally, "Vox Græca ἀόρατος, cui respondet Hebræa אֲוֹרָט, et Latina inferorum, denotat illum locum communem, in quem recipiuntur omnes hominum vita functorum animæ. Nunquam vero significat aut sepulchrum aut cælum." I rather suspect that these Authors had perused the note of Wetstein alluded to, because, in their translation of the very text upon which this comment is given, they render ἀόρατος *the unseen state*." Be this however as it may, I shall, I trust, be excused if I prefer, in the instance before me, the opinion of such able critics and philologists as Schleusner and Wetstein, supported by numerous and respectable authorities, to that of a whole committee of Unitarian Translators, who either cannot or will not, on the other side, adduce any authority whatsoever.

But, on the controverted topic of an intermediate state between death and the resurrection, there exists a passage in St. Luke, which, without a little expository straining, or a disavowal of its legitimacy, seems completely at war with the Unitarian hypothesis. It is Luke xxiii. 43, "And Jesus said to him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."† An attempt indeed was made, at a very early period, by some who disliked the doctrine which this text evidently contains, to get rid of the offensive position by a novel punctuation. Instead of putting the comma before the word σημερον *to-day*, they

\* Introduction p. 21.

† Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ, vol. i. p. 766, Koecheri Analecta, p. 382, and Hackspan in loc.

proposed to place it after it, and then to read, "Verily I say unto thee this day, Thou shalt be with me in Paradise;" a very bungling and unsatisfactory artifice. It was nevertheless at one period adopted by the Socinians, whose German translation of the New Testament was in the verse under consideration carefully thus pointed. But so manifest a dislocation of sense and language was not likely to prove long fashionable. We therefore find the New Translators pursuing a different and a bolder line of conduct. They in the first place endeavour to explain away its obvious meaning, by remarking, that, when Christ says to the penitent malefactor, "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise," he only meant, "in the state of the *virtuous dead*, who, though *in their graves*, are *alive to God*;" and also by referring to their comment upon Luke xx. 38, where we are told, that all *live to God*, because he "regards the *future* resurrection as if *it were present*." Will these refined reasoners however permit me to ask them, by what harsh epithet they would characterize the conduct of that man, who should announce to them a blessing of the first importance as actually to take place *on that very day*, which he at the same time knew would not happen *until a distant period*, under the despicable subterfuge, that there is no distinction of time with God, because "one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day?" Really, with all their contempt for ancient and established opinion, they must have a strange conception indeed of the popular intellect, if they can persuade themselves, that this flimsy sort of new *sumpsimus* will ever supersede what they may scornfully contemplate as old *mumpsimus*.

Conscious perhaps of this circumstance, they then proceed a step farther, and boldly propose at once the rejection, of the verse altogether, having previously taken care to mark it in the text by italics, as one of doubtful authority. Their ground of suspicion is thus stated: "This



verse," they say, "was wanting in the copies of *Marcion* and other reputed heretics, and in some of the older copies in the time of *Origen*; nor is it cited either by *Justin*, *Irenæus*, or *Tertullian*, though the two former have quoted almost every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and *Tertullian* wrote concerning the intermediate state."

The first part of their argument, that "the verse was wanting in the copies of *Marcion*, and other reputed heretics, and in some of the older copies in the time of *Origen*," seems to have been borrowed from Griesbach, who, without attempting to dislodge the verse from the text, or in any way to mark it as suspicious, simply makes the following observation; "= (the sign of deficiency) *Marcion* ap. *Epiph.* *Manichæi* ap. *Chrys.* ap. *Orig.*"

Upon the illegitimacy of *Marcion's* Gospel I have already been sufficiently diffuse, as well as upon the inconsistency of those, who, in order to get rid of some offensive, or to support some favourite text, at one time admit, and at another discard, the authority of that spurious production at pleasure. It seems therefore only necessary to refer to what I have previously adduced upon this subject; at the same time however reminding them, that when they attempt to cut out what they may conceive to be the cancerous excrescences of Scripture, if they wish to prevent a self injury, they will find it wisdom to abstain from the double-edged knife of *Marcion*.

But it seems that the verse in question was also wanting in the copies of "other reputed heretics." What may be the exact preponderance of heretical authority against the uniform testimony of antiquity in their judgment, I cannot pretend to determine; it certainly seems considerable; and yet how is this compatible with the importance which they annex to the laborious collations of Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers? While most men conceive, that, in proportion to the number of such attestations in fa-

‘vour of a particular reading, the greater appears to be the probability of its genuineness, will they adopt an inverse mode of calculation? Or will they contend, that a single grain of reputed heresy outweighs, in point of credit, a whole ton of orthodoxy? And who are the reputed heretics here alluded to? As they have not condescended to give their names, we are left to conjecture. The extract however from Griesbach will enable us perhaps to guess, that they mean *the Manichæans*: But what possible reason can be assigned for suppressing the name of these heretics? I cannot suppose that they had examined the authority of Griesbach; and, finding him inaccurate in his statement, yet still resolving to take the chance of heretical suspicion, preferred the uncertainty of a general allusion to the precision of a particular description of persons, by way of avoiding the probability of detection. They rather perhaps adopt the mode in question, because they apprehended that the very term *Manichæans*, to the credit of whose supposed copies an appeal must have been made, might have produced in the reader’s mind an inconvenient association of ideas. That however which I do not ascribe to them, a distrust in the accuracy of Griesbach, I consider myself as a sufficient ground for rejecting this part of the testimony altogether.

To the exertions of that laborious critic biblical literature, I am fully convinced, is highly indebted; nor do I hesitate to join with them in denominating his edition of the New Testament a work “of unrivalled excellence and importance,” and in regarding it as not the least of his merits, that he contrived “to compress a great mass of critical information into as narrow a compass as possible, in order to bring it within the reach of those, who could not afford either the time, the labour, or the expense, which would be necessary to collect it from those numerous and expensive volumes in which it was diffused.” At the same time, however, I hold it requisite not to take too

much from any critic upon trust, particularly from one, whose great merit consists in *the compression* of more bulky materials. Compression, we know, necessarily includes some sort of omission, and omissions too often give rise to erroneous conceptions. Besides, may not the very compressor, by too hastily adopting a general conclusion, without sufficiently examining the particular premises, occasionally err himself, and consequently mislead others? This, I contend, is precisely the case with Griesbach, in the text under consideration. Griesbach in the short note given above, manifestly borrows from Wetstein, intending to give the same references as that critic, but to suppress the quotations themselves. Wetstein states, that this verse was wanting in Marcion's Gospel according to Epiphanius, and to Origen on John, p. 421. "—(Wetstein's sign of deficiency,) Marcion ap. Epiphanium, et Origenem in Joh. p. 421," and quotes the passage from Origen. He then adds, without any sign prefixed, "Chrysostomus T. V. 7. Οἱ Μανιχαῖοι ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸ τοῦτε τετὸ φασιν, εἶπεν ὁ κυριος, ἀμην κ. τ. λ. ἔκκεν ἀντιδόσις ἤδη γεγρονε τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ περιστῆ ἡ ἀνασασίς"—εἰ γὰρ ἦν σώματων ἀνασασίς, ἔκκεν εἶπεν σήμερον κ.τ.λ. ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συντελείας ὅταν σώματων ἀνασασίς." Whether Wetstein meant to affirm, that the Manichæans, according to Chrysostom, denied the validity of the text, or simply to remark that they particularly noted it, I will not pretend to determine. It seems certain, however, that Griesbach conceived him to have the former object in view, and therefore observed, that the verse was rejected by the Marcionites according to Epiphanius, *Manichæans according to Chrysostom*, without ever reading, or if he read, without understanding, the passage in Chrysostom, alluded, to: for, had he correctly understood it, he would have found the very reverse of what he states to have been the fact. As the correction of an error in Griesbach may be deemed a point of some importance, I shall give the whole extract in dispute, which seems to have been taken from the pro-

fessed writings of the Manichæans, in the words of Chrysostom himself: Οὔτοι (οἱ Μανιχαῖοι) τοῖνον ἐπιλαβομένοι του χωρις τευτε φασιν· εἶπεν ὁ Χριστος, ἀμην λέγω σοι, σημερον μετ' ἐμου εσῆ εν τῷ παραδεισῷ· ουκουν αντιδοσις· εἰ γαρ εν εκεινη τῇ ἡμερα ἀπελαβεν ὁ ληψης τα αγαθα, το δε σωμα αυτου ουκ ανεση ουδεπω, και τημερον, ου εσαι σωματων λοιπον ανασασις· ἀρα ενοησατε το λεχθεν, η δευτερον αυτο παλιν εἶπειν ἀναγκη; ἀμην, ἀμην λέγω σοι, σημερον μετ' ἐμου εσῆ εν τῷ παραδεισῷ· εἰσηλθεν εν, φησιν τον παραδεισον ὁ ληψης ου μετα του σωματος. πως γαρ, ὅποτε εκ εταφη το σωμα αυτου, ουδε διελυθη, και κοις εγενετο; και εδαμξ ειρηται, ὅτι ανεσησεν ο Χριστος αυτον. εἰ δε εισηγαγε τον λησην, και χωρις τε σωματος ἀπηλαυσε των αγαθων, ευδηλον ὅτι σωματος ουκ εσιν ανασασις, εἰ γαρ ην σωματος ανασασις εκ αν εἶπε· σημερον μετ' ἐμου εσῆ εν τῷ παραδεισῷ, ἀλλ' εν τῷ καιρω συντελειας, ὅταν σωματαν ανασασις η· εἰ δε ηδε εισηγαγε τον λησην, το δε σωμα αυτε φθαρεν εμεινεν εξω, ευδηλον ὅτι σωματων ανασασις εκ εσι. ταυτα εκεινοι.\* Such then was the argument

\* Chrysostomi Opera, vol. iv. p. 680. Ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1721. Art. Sermo in Genesim. 7. The following is the translation of Montfaucon: “Iste locum hunc arripientes aiunt: *Dixit Christus, ‘Amen amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.’* Igitur janī facta est bonorum retributio, et superflua erit resurrectio. Si enim illo die latro bona recepit, corpus autem ejus nondum ad hunc usque diem resurrexit, non erit deinceps corporum resurrectio. Numquid intellexistis, quod diximus, an vero iterum illud dici necesse est? ‘Amen, amen, dico tibi, *hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*’ Ingressus est igitur, inquit, in paradysum latro *non cum corpore*. Quo enim pacto cum sepultum non esset corpus ejus, neque dissolutum, et in cineres redactum? Neque dictum usquam fuit, resuscitatum illum a Christo fuisse. Quod si latronem introduxit, et absque corpore bonis potitus est, manifestum est corporis resurrectionem non esse. Nam si corporis esset resurrectio, non dixisset, ‘*Hodie mecum eris in paradiso,*’ sed *in tempore consummationi*, quando, resurrectio corporum erit. Quod si jam latronem introduxit, corpus autem ejus foris corruptum remansit, plane liquet corporum resurrectionem non esse. Atque hæc quidem illi.”

How widely these reputed heretics differed in opinion from the Unitarians! The Manichæans believe that the soul survived the body, and that the body died never to exist again. The Unitarians main-

of the Manichæans ; from which it appears, that, instead of rejecting this text, they highly appreciated it, and even grounded upon it a favourite doctrine, that there would be no resurrection *of the body*, but that, when we died, every thing material in our nature perished everlastingly. In further proof also that this sect acknowledged its legitimacy, I might refer to a passage in Augustin, in which Faustus the Manichæan is thus introduced expressly quoting it : “ Neque enim quia et latronem quendam de cruce liberavit idem noster Dominus, et, *ipso eodem die secum futurum dixit eum in paradiso patris sui*, quisquam invidet, aut inhumanus adeo esse potest, ut hoc ei displiceat tantæ benignitatis officium. Sed tamen non idcirco dicimus et latronum vitas ac mores nobis probabiles esse debere, quia Jesus latroni indulgentium dedit.”\*

It is evident therefore that Griesbach completely misrepresents the fact, when he asserts, that the Manichæans disowned the verse in question. Whether, glancing his eye cursorily over the partial quotation of Wetstein, and forgetting the tenets of the sect, he conceived that the Manichæans disclaimed the verse altogether, because it seemed inconsistent with the doctrine of a corporeal resurrection, or whether he spared himself the trouble of considering the quotation at all, is not very important. It is certain that he erred, drawing into the vortex of his error writers, who repose an implicit confidence in the accuracy of his statements.

But to proceed ; we are also told, that this verse was wanting “ in some *of the older copies* in the time of Origen.” Is not this however advancing one step, at least,

tain the reverse of both propositions. For an account of the distinction between paradise and heaven, see Wetstein’s note on this text.

\* Contra Faustum Manichæum, vol. iv. lib. xxxiii. p. 490. Ed. 1569.



further than the position of Griesbach, who only remarks, that *some persons* rejected it according to Origen, *Aliqui* apud Originem? Upon what ground then rests the assertion, not that *some persons* disowned it, but that it was wanting in some of the *older copies*, in the time of that Father? And does not Griesbach too go a little beyond his predecessor Wetstein, in representing the *aliqui*, the *some persons* alluded to by Origen, as distinct from the *Marcionites* spoken of by Epiphanius? The words of Wetstein are these: “—Marcion apud Epiphanium et Origenem in Joh. p. 421.” Surely the rejection here noted, upon the testimony of Epiphanius and Origen, is precisely one and the same; viz. that by Marcion, and not by two different sects. Nor is this all. As the new Translators misconceive Griesbach, and Griesbach misconceives Wetstein, so Wetstein also misconceives Origen, and makes for him a declaration which he never meant. The assertion of Origen, so strangely mistaken, is comprised in the following short extract from this Commentary on John, as given by Wetstein himself: Οὕτω δὲ σταραῖζε τινὰς ὡς ἀσυμφωνον τὸ εἰρημὲνον, ὡς ἐπολμησαὶ αὐτοὺς ἵππονησαὶ, προσεβηθῆναι τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ τινῶν ῥαδιουργῶν αὐτὸ το, σημερον μετ’ ἐμῆ ἐσθ’ ἐν τῷ παραδεισῷ τῆς Θεῆς.\* And the same passage is quoted by Lardner, I will subjoin his English translation, rather inelegant indeed, but sufficiently correct, “This saying has so disturbed some people, as appearing to them absurd, that they have *ventured to suspect* that it has been added by some that corrupt the Gospels: *To-day shalt thou be with me in the paradise of God.*”†

Now there is certainly nothing in Origen, either ante-

\* “Sic autem perturbavit hoc dictum nonnullos, ceu absonum, ut suspicari ausi fuerint hæc verba, *hodie mecum eris in paradiso Dei*, addita fuisse Evangelio ab aliquibus illud adulterantibus.” Opera. v. ii. p. 4.1. Ed. Huetii.

† Credibility, vol. iii. part ii. p. 575. Ed. 1738.

cedent or subsequent to this passage, from which it can be inferred, that he had the Marcionites in his eye. Nor does he say that any sect or sects whatsoever repudiated the verse in question ; but simply, that some persons were so *disturbed* at what appears to them its absurdity, that they dared (*τολμησαι*) to *suspect* it as an interpolation. Surely the distinction must be obvious between the position of *suspecting* and that of *avowing*, its illegitimacy ; so that Wetstein was clearly inaccurate, not only in fixing the allusion upon the Marcionites, but also in representing, as *a direct repudiation*, what was at most but *a daring suspicion*. To suspect a text which may be disliked, is certainly not new, either on the Heterodox or the Orthodox side of a question. To suspect it however is one thing, and to disclaim it another ; nor will the Unitarians, I presume, dispute the difference, when they recollect, that some Trinitarians have suspected the authenticity of the words, “ *neither the Son,*” in Mark xiii. 32, where it is said, “ Of that day and of that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son,* but the Father.” Can it be hence argued, that certain Trinitarians have rejected them ? And if it could, would even this be deemed a circumstance sufficiently important to be recorded in disparagement of their validity ? I rather think it would not ; because a much stronger evidence has indeed been adduced against them, which is not permitted to throw the slightest shade of doubt upon their authenticity. The Translators themselves remark, “ *Ambrose cites manuscripts which omit this clause,*\* and complains

\* The words of Ambrose are, “ *Veteres codices Græci non habent, quod nec filius scit. Sed non mirum, si et hoc falsarunt, qui Scripturas interpolavere divinas.*” De Fide, lib. v. c. 7. How are the *older copies*, the *veteres codices*, here expressly referred to by *Ambrose*, of such contemptible authority in comparison with the *older copies* supposed to be, but certainly not, referred to by *Origen* ?

that it was introduced by the Arians. But all manuscripts and versions now extant retain it, and it is cited by early writers." It is by no means my intention to invalidate this favourite clause of the Unitarians ; but I will venture to ask, upon what principle can it be consistently maintained, that the omission of this clause in some ancient Greek manuscripts of St. Mark's Gospel, alluded to by *Ambrose*, is not to be considered as at least of equal weight with the omission of the two first chapters of St. Matthew in the Gospel of the Ebionites, or of the two first chapters of St. Luke in the Gospel of the Marcionites, alluded to by *Epiphanius* ; admitting that all manuscripts and versions now extant, as well as all citations of early writers, retain the respective passages in the contemplation of both ?

On the whole, if Wetstein and Griesbach err in giving the sense of Origen, the Translators of the New Version deviate still more widely, when they represent him as stating the controverted verse to have been wanting in some of the older copies in his time. Had they consulted on the occasion an authority which they highly respect, that of Lardner, they would not have fallen into so gross a blunder, as they would have found his deduction from the same passage of Origen precisely opposite to their own. Lardner observes ; " It may be concluded from what Origen says, that these words were *in all copies* ; and that they who objected against them had *no copy* to allege in support of their *suspicion*, but only the absurdity of the thing itself in *their* opinion. For that is *all* that Origen mentions."\* Leaving them however to digest the position of Lardner, in flat contradiction to their own, as they can, I shall conclude this long discussion with a short remark upon the singularity, that such distinct results should be deduced from the same premises. The Translators of the New Version consider Origen as asserting, that the verse

\* Credibility, ut supra.

in dispute was wanting in some of the older copies in his time ; Griesbach, that some persons, (aliqui,) not the Marcionites, repudiated it ; and Wetstein, that it was repudiated by the Marcionites. Now it is remarkable, that in these respective statements each should differ from the other, and all materially from the very author, on whose sole testimony they rely. To what, except to the most culpable negligence, can we impute this strange perversity ?

I have been the more particular in my notice of this and the preceding point, not in order to create an invidious distrust of critics so justly distinguished as Wetstein and Griesbach, but to prove the necessity of carefully examining ourselves the authorities cited by them, before we presume privately to question, much more, publickly to arraign, the authenticity of any text whatsoever. And this necessity, I trust, has been sufficiently proved to those, whose only object is the simple investigation of truth.

Having endeavoured to demonstrate, that the first part of the Unitarian argument for the rejection of Luke xxiii. 43, rests on no solid foundation, I come now to consider the second part of it.

This verse then, we must observe, is to be found in *all the manuscripts* as well as *versions* extant, and is quoted by *Fathers innumerable* ; but it is not cited, it seems, by one or two early Fathers, and therefore doubts are to be entertained of its legitimacy. “It is not cited,” we are told, “by *Justin, Irenæus, or Tertullian*, though the *two former* have quoted almost every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and Tertullian wrote concerning the intermediate state.”

Before I proceed to the particulars of these confident assertions, may I be permitted to ask, if the writers alluded to had really quoted the passage in dispute, whether that circumstance would have been admitted as conclusive upon the point of its authenticity ? The question, I con-

ceive, must be answered in the negative; for all three\* have distinctly quoted texts from the first and second chapters of St. Luke: yet we find that the Unitarians persist in marking for rejection those very portions of both Evangelists. They will not surely maintain, that the direct testimony of an early writer is to be considered as of no decisive weight in favour of the received text, although his silence may be constructed into sufficient evidence against it?

But I may be told, that they object not to admit the testimony of these writers upon points solely connected with the general received copies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, when it is uncontradicted in the first instance by the Gospel of the Ebionites, and in the second by that of the Marcionites; Gospels of higher reputation than the common copies, because of more remote antiquity. Shew us they may say, a text quoted by either of these writers, which is omitted in manuscripts of a more recent date, and is not discredited by the fragments above alluded to, and we will instantly acknowledge its validity. I might observe in reply, that the disputed chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, even upon the very ground of antiquity alledged, ought to be deemed genuine, because they are referred to by writers, who living in the *second* century, quoted from copies which must have been more ancient than the supposed copies of the Ebionites and of the Marcionites, from which Epiphanius quoted, who lived in the *fourth* century. But, to meet every possible objection,

\* Justin. in Dialog. cum Tryphone, Ed. Paris 1636. p. 303, 304; and in Apol. ii. p. 75; Irenæus, lib. iii, c. 18. Ed Grabe, p. 239, and lib. iii. c. 11. p. 214; and Tertulian in Arg. adversus Judæos Ed. Rigalt. Paris 1664. p. 193, and De Carne Christi, p. 321. Nor are these the only places where the disputed chapters are referred to by the same writers.



I will bring forward an instance, in which only copies of the same precise nature are concerned.

In Luke xxii. verses 43, 44, are printed in italics as of dubious authority, and we are told in a note, that, “these verses are wanting in the Vatican, the Alexandrian, and other manuscripts.” (it should have been stated, in *three* other manuscripts of the same class with the Vatican, and neither of them of any higher antiquity than *the eleventh or twelfth centuries*,\*) “and are marked as doubtful in some in which they are inserted.” Now admitting all this in its fullest extent, still I apprehend it must follow, if they are clearly cited by writers who could only have been conversant with manuscripts which were long prior in date to the Vatican and Alexandrian, or indeed any others. And they are certainly cited both by Justin and Irenæus. That they were acknowledged by Justin, Irenæus, and many later fathers, Griesbach might have informed them,† had they been disposed to consider both sides of the evidence. although he would not have referred them to the particular passages. Justin remarks: *Εν γαρ τοις απομνημονευμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπο των απο ολων αυτε και των εκεινοισ παρακολυθησαντων συνσεταχθαι, ὅτι ἰδρως ὡσει θρομβοι κατεχευτο αυτε ευχομενεσ και λεγοντοσ, παρελθετω ει δυνατον, το ποτηριον τσπο.* “*Nam in libris, qui sunt ab ejus discipulis, ipsorumque sectatoribus compositi, memoriæ mandatum est, sudorem ipsius tamquam guttas sanguinis defluxisse in terram,*

\* It should likewise have been added, that in the *first* of the three, the commencement of these verses, *ωφθη δε* is notwithstanding written by the same hand which originally transcribed the MS. the remainder being supplied by another and more recent hand in the margin; and that in the *second*, although the verses are evidently wanting here, they yet occur in another Gospel, viz. after Matthew xxvi. 39. See Griesbach.

† Agnoscunt Justin, Hippol. Epiph. Chrys. Tit. bostr. Cæsarius, Iren. Hier.

eo deprecante et dicente, *Transeat, si fieri potest poculum hoc.*" Dial. cum Tryphone in Opera. p. 331. So also Irenæus :—*σὸ' ἀν ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Λαζάρου· σὸ' ἀν ἰδὼσας θρομβῆσαι αἱμάτος* "—*nec lacrymasset super Lazarum nec sudasset globos sanguinis.*" Lib. iii. c. 32. p. 260. Since therefore the Gospel of Marcion is not recorded to have omitted these verses, and as they are expressly cited by such early writers as Justin and Irenæus, how is it that they are marked for excision upon the sole authority of manuscripts confessedly written at a later period ?

But to return to the principal text in controversy : we may surely admit that it is not quoted by Justin, Irenæus, or Tertullian, without at all impeaching its authenticity ; for if no texts are to be deemed genuine, upon which these Fathers are wholly silent, many of considerable importance in the judgment of different parties must be expunged from the canon of Scripture. Aware perhaps of this, the Translators attempt to assign a particular reason, why silence on this occasion is to be necessarily construed into ignorance. They say, that the omission is the more remarkable, because "*the two former* have quoted almost every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and *Tertullian* wrote concerning the intermediate state." But are these assertions true ? The first most certainly is not : nor is the last in that sense in which alone it can bear upon the argument. Justin is so far from quoting every text in St. Luke which relates to the crucifixion, that from the whole of this twenty-third chapter, consisting of fifty-six verses upon the subject, I have been able to discover only *one* (the 46th)\* which is clearly cited by him. I allude of course to his genuine writings, and not to others incorrectly imputed to him ; for if the latter are to be brought forward, we shall find perhaps two more verses quot-

\* Dial. cum Tryphone in Oper. p. 333.

ed,\* but one of these will be *the very verse in question*. Irenæus also, it is remarkable, refers but once to the same chapter, and that is to the 13th verse.† As to Tertullian, he certainly wrote a distinct treatise upon the intermediate state, or rather, upon the subject of Paradise; for he himself thus expressly informs us; “Habes etiam de paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini :”‡ but the Translators forget to add, (a little circumstance of some importance to the question,) that this treatise is not now extant. What therefore it might, or might not, have contained in the way of quotation, it must be as useless to conjecture, as it is absurd to urge.

The only general reflection which I shall make upon this singular tissue of strange misconceptions, and strange misrepresentations, is this; that, if their metaphysical arguments upon the nature of the human soul, and its sleep after death, be founded upon no better reasoning than that which is here exhibited to discredit a passage of Scripture countenancing an opposite doctrine, the philosopher must despise, and the critic deride them.

\* Viz. v. 34, and v. 43. Quæstiones et Respon. ad Orthod. in Operibus, p. 463, and p. 437.

† Lib. iii. c. 20. p. 247.

‡ Opera, p. 204.

## CHAP. V.

*Perplexing Anomalies in the Theory of articles.*

Hitherto I have considered the attempts of these Translators to get rid of particular passages of Scripture which cannot well be explained in conformity with their own Creed, by discarding them as unauthentic. I come now to notice another exercise of their ingenuity, by which, for similar theological purposes, they give to certain undisputed texts meanings directly the reverse of those which are usually affixed to them. With this view they render Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, John i. 1, “the Word was *a* God;” and ἑαυτοῦ Υἱὸν τῆς Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν, John xix, 7, “made himself *a* Son of God;” contemplating the insertion of the English indefinite, as necessarily resulting from the omission of the Greek definite, Article. Their object, both here and in other instances of the same kind, clearly is to divest our Saviour of every claim to divinity which a peculiar title might be supposed to give him, and to represent him not as *God*, or as *the* Son of God emphatically, but as *a* God, or *a* Son of God metaphorically. The rule indeed, which they have thus adopted, is not properly their own; it was originally a fruit of Arian growth: but, not being suited to the general taste, it hung for a time mellowing and neglected. As the Unitarians however seem disposed, if possible, to establish its credit, let us examine a little its pretensions to public approbation.

If it be really the produce of sound criticism, and not of mere theological conceit, it must not only appear correct in one or two solitary instances, but prove of general approbation. Upon this principle let us try it.

In the last clause then of John i, 1, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος is ren-

dered, as I have observed, “the Word is *a* God,” because the article  $\acute{o}$  is not annexed to  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ . But why do not the Translators, for the same reason, also render  $\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$   $\tau\upsilon$   $\acute{o}$   $\Lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , in the first clause of the verse, “in *a* beginning,” that is, at some indefinite commencement, “was the Word,” instead of “in *the* beginning,” in conformity with the common translation? The true cause perhaps it is easy to conjecture. This would completely militate against the only sense in which they will allow the expression to be taken; the words “in *the* beginning” meaning, as they choose to say after Socinus, “from the commencement of the Gospel dispensation, or of the ministry of Christ.”

But, concealing the secret motive, they may urge in their defence, that the phrase “in *a* beginning” would be an obscure sort of expression, while the other, “*a* God,” is sufficiently intelligible. This is true: but it only serves to show, at the very outset, the general inapplicability of their favourite rule. That the phrase “*a* God” is sufficiently intelligible cannot indeed be disputed; yet may the rule itself be justly controverted, which uniformly supplies the absence of the Greek Article by the English indefinite Article. For if we proceed with a consistent translation of the same word  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , in the same chapter of St. John, we shall find it necessary either immediately to abandon the rule altogether, or to represent the Evangelist as establishing a plurality of Gods. When, for example, in v, 6, it is said, “there was a man sent from *God*,  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$   $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,” if we translate this “from *a* God;” when also in v, 13, the faithful are described as children of *God*,  $\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon\alpha$   $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , if we translate this “children of *a* God;” and when in 5, 18, it is affirmed, that “no man has at any time seen *God*,  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ,” if we render this too “*a* God,” shall we not introduce the Evangelist as countenancing the opinion, that there are more Gods than one? To avoid so manifest an absurdity, as well as impiety, we here find the Unitarians



departing from their own principle, and translating Θεός, in all these instances, *God*, without an Article. Is not this a specimen of polemical legerdemain rather than of rational criticism, which conjures up a little convenient Article for a particular deception, and then instantly, in a subsequent display of skill, commands its absence?

To what subterfuge can they fly in order to escape the imputation of inferring a plurality of gods? *A* is an article which evidently relates to number, as the French *un*. And thus perhaps they themselves intend it should be taken, when they put into the mouth of the Centurion the words, "Truly this was *a* son of *a* God;" Matt. xxvii. 54, because the Centurion may be supposed to have been an heathen. But how will they explain, consistently with the doctrine of the Divine Unity, the following declaration, which they ascribe to our Saviour; "God is not *a* God of the dead, but of the living?" Matt. xxii. 32. Were we correctly to express the proposition, that the Gentiles, and not the Jews, acknowledge the messiahship of our blessed Lord, instead of saying, that Christ is not *a* Christ, should we not rather say, that Christ is not *the* Christ of the Jews, but of the Gentiles? Or, to use a more familiar illustration, were we, when alluding to the hands in which the sovereignty of this kingdom is lodged, to describe an exalted individual, not as "the," but as "*a* King of England," would it not imply, that England is governed by more kings than one? It is impossible however for a moment to suppose, that they mean to insinuate a polytheism abhorrent from their creed, particularly when we reflect, that their creed uniformly rules the text, and not the text their creed.

Had they indeed pursued their own rule, as consistency required, in every instance, numerous absurdities would have arisen, against which common sense must have instantly revolted. I shall instance one out of many. Our Saviour says, in reply to the Tempter, "It is written ;

Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceeded from *the* mouth of *God*, *δια σοματος Θεου,*" Matt. iv. 4. Now these words, upon the principle of supplying our Article *a*, whenever the Greek Article is omitted, should have been translated, "from *a* mouth of *a* God ;" a phrase which would have implied, not only that there are more gods than one, but that every god has more mouths than one ; and thus would they have represented our blessed Saviour as teaching a polytheism of India.

If I am asked, "What line then would you pursue? Would you, when you translate a Greek noun without the Article, reject the use of the English Article *a*, and admit that of the English Article *the*, or would you translate it in English, as in Greek, without any Article at all?" My answer is, that in every instance of the kind, we should commit ourselves to the guidance, not of a supposed infallible canon, but of common sense and the context. On different occasions different modes of translation must be adopted : and instances may be quoted in which all three modes occur in the same passage. Thus, *Εγενετο ανδρωπος απεσαλμενος παρα Θεου ονομα αυτω Ιαωννης*, John i. 6, when fully and correctly rendered, will be, "There was *a* man sent from *God* ; *the* name of whom (or *the* name to him) was John." Is it possible for any Translator, how much soever influenced by a bigoted attachment to self opinion, and by a fond affectation of singular theory, to contend, that the words *ανδρωπος Θεου*, and *ονομα*, in this verse, all without the Article, are all to be translated in one and the same way?

But it may perhaps be said, if such uncertainty exists on these occasions, how are we to ascertain the precise import of a Greek noun so circumstanced? This question however is easily answered by asking another, How do we ascertain the precise import of a Latin noun, under similar circumstances? The Latin noun, it is plain, must be used, not occasionally, but always, without an Article, be-

cause the Latin language has none ; yet we contrive to settle what we conceive to be its genuine sense in all cases, without stumbling upon any difficulty of this description. Why should more perplexity arise in the Greek language?

Whatsoever pointed peculiarity of meaning the presence of the Greek Article may be supposed sometimes to indicate, no uniform analogy of construction, I presume, can be argued from its absence. Its ellipses are perpetual ; and a thousand instances may be adduced, in which neither its omission, nor its addition, appears to create the slightest difference. It is not however my intention, nor does the subject require me, to enter into an elaborate discussion upon its philological importance or insignificance. Nothing perhaps is more difficult than to define the exact nature and legitimate use of Articles in a living language, as they frequently give birth to anomalies which depend upon an usage, bidding defiance to the shackles of system. And if this be the case in a living language, in a dead one the difficulty must be incalculably augmented. I shall nevertheless venture to consider a little more minutely, yet as briefly as I can, the question of the correspondence between the English and Greek modes of expressing nouns, in order to point out the impossibility of restricting that correspondence by any rule or rules universally applicable.

In English there are evidently three distinct modes of expressing nouns ; one, without an Article *absolutely* ; another, with the Article *a*, which refers to number, *indefinitely* ; and a third, with the Article *the* *definitely*. An instance of all three modes occurs in the use of the word *light* ; of the first, when God said, " Let there be *light*," Gen. i. 3, of the second, when the Messiah is declared to be "*a* light to lighten the Gentiles," Luke ii. 32, and of the third, when our Saviour terms himself "*the* light of the world," John viii. 12. So also the word *sin* in the following passages ; " All unrighteousness is *sin*," John

v. 17, "There is *a* sin unto death," ib. 16, "Rebellion is as *the* sin of witchcraft," 1 Sam. xv. 23. Few nouns however admit the three modes; most only the two latter; and some the last alone; as the noun *sun*, which is always denominated *the* sun, for although it may be sometimes used with the Article *a* prefixed, yet it can then only be taken hypothetically with reference to other suns, which we conceive to exist in the boundless expanse of creation.

If we fancy that in this diversity we still perceive something of invariable system, that fancy, as we proceed, must soon forsake us, when we turn to the perplexing anomalies introduced by the caprice of usage. *A man*, for instance, and *a horse*, are both indeed to be considered as belonging to one genus, viz. animal; yet we use the word *man* absolutely, in order to denote the species, as "God made *man*," while it would be incorrect to use the other word in the same manner. How too shall we account for the following peculiarities? We never say *a* thunder, but always *thunder*; while, on the contrary, we never say *hurricane* but always *an* hurricane; so that of two nouns apparently similar, one is found to be deficient in the second, and the other in the first mode of expression.

An ellipsis likewise of the Article *the* frequently occurs, for which we can seldom assign a satisfactory reason. We may indeed sometimes attribute it to colloquial brevity, as when "the house *top*" is used for *the top* of the house, and when "*horse-hair*" is used for *the* hair of *the* horse: but how shall we account for it on more important occasions, as when *earth* is put for *the* earth which we inhabit, and not for the mere element so denominated? For although we cannot in the sense alluded to correctly term God the Creator of *earth*, yet may we term him the Creator of *heaven and earth*; and we also daily pray, that his will may be done *in* or *on* *earth*. Upon what principle is this variety to be explained?

And, if no happy twist of logical dexterity can wreath

stragglers of this nature into the fantastical chaplet of our system, what success can we promise ourselves with others still more rambling and perverse? We apply, for example, the terms *heaven* and *sky* synonymously to designate the vaulted expanse above our heads; yet we express them differently, for we use the former always without, but the latter always with, the definite article. Again, before the name of that which possesses an existence unlike to all others, and which is of so peculiar a nature as not to admit the idea of number, it is usual to place the definite Article, as *the sun*, *the moon*, and *the world*. And to what other class can the word *God*, as signifying the one supreme and self-existing Being, be properly assigned? Yet we do not, under this application of the term, say, *the God*, as we say *the sun*, definitely, but *God* absolutely.

It seems then, that, in explanation of such incongruities, we must have recourse, not to any infallible code of philological laws, but to an usage disdainful of all restriction. Nor is even this principle to be considered as uniform in its operation, and constant in its character. Fickle, fluctuating, unstable, it subverts and reestablishes, erects and demolishes, at pleasure, and sometimes abandons even its own innovations. A style of expression to which we are not habituated we are apt to pronounce abhorrent from the genius of our language; but that supposed genius, particularly in the case before us, too often mocks description: when we attempt to seize and examine it, it assumes so shadowy and flitting a form as to elude our grasp. To what, for example, but to the flux of fashion, and the caprice of usage, can we ascribe the various modes of expression adopted in the different translations of the tenth verse of the thirty-second Psalm? The Common-Prayer-Book Version renders it thus: "Be ye not like to *horse* and *mule*, which have no understanding, whose mouths must be held with *bit* and *bridle*." The Bible Version thus: "Be ye not as *the horse* and *the mule*, which have no un-



derstanding, whose mouth must be held in with *bit* and *bridle*." We here perceive, in the first instance a total omission of the definite and indefinite Articles; then subsequently, a restoration of the former, but not of the latter; while, in the present day, propriety would require a restoration of both: for instead of "whose mouth must be held in with *bit* and *bridle*," we should now rather say, "whose mouth must be held in with *a* bit and *a* bridle." Nor, in proof that our idea of correctness depends more upon habit than system, ought the provincialism of counties to be overlooked: for, to an ear familiar only with the dialect of Cumberland, the perpetual insertion of Articles does not sound less harsh and uncouth than the perpetual omission of them to a more polished ear.

If therefore the English language be in its use of Articles so irregular, how are we precisely to point out, and to restrain by certain unerring laws, its correspondence in this respect with the Greek language? It is well known, that in Greek there is only one Article, which is in general correctly translated by our definite Article *the*; yet on some occasions must we translate it indefinitely, and on others absolutely. With regard to its indefinite acceptance, should a prejudice for system induce us to suspect the meaning of το ορος, Matt. v. 1, and το πλοιον, Matt. i. 1, we must surely render το μωδιον, Matt. v. 15, *a* measure; ὁ διδασκαλος, John iii. 10, *a* teacher; τον ανθρωπον, John vii. 51, *a* (or, as the New Version has it, *any*) man; and το ψευδος, John viii. 44, *a* lie. Nor will the absolute sense in which the noun connected with it is occasionally taken, appear doubtful, when we observe, that την δικαιοσυνην, Matt. v. 6, can only signify *righteousness*, not *the* or *a* righteousness; ἡ χαρις και ἡ αληθεια, John i. 17, *grace* and *truth*; and εκ της θανατου εις την ζωην, John v. 24, from *death* to *life*. I use the strong terms *must* and *can* without fear of contradiction, because the New Version itself sanctions their application.

But further, as a Greek noun *with* the Article must be variously rendered, so also, as I have already remarked, *without* the Article, must it be understood sometimes definitely, sometimes indefinitely, and sometimes absolutely. Having previously however adverted to these points, I shall not fruitlessly multiply examples, only subjoining, with respect to the first mode of expression alluded to, a single passage, which, even if it stood alone, would, I conceive, prove decisive upon the subject. St. John says, ὥρα ην ὡς δεκάτη, e. iv. 6. Would it not be nonsense to translate this “*an* hour” instead of “*the* hour was about the tenth?”

When these different circumstances are contemplated ; when we consider that in our own language the addition or omission of an Article is often attributable to no other cause than to the predominance of a paramount usage ; when we perceive similar irregularities to exist in the Greek language ; and the correspondence between both to be regulated by no fixed and determinate principles ; who will boast of reducing to the subjection of rule forms of expression superior to all rule ? We are indeed too apt, on every occasion, to represent pleonasm and ellipsis as systematical ornaments, instead of what they often are, unsystematical blemishes, of language ; and to dream of indescribable elegancies, where little perhaps is really discoverable except the negligence of habit, or the peculiarity of custom : but as well may we attempt to chain the wind, as to restrict diversity of usage in the redundancy or suppression of Articles, by any thing like an invariable uniformity of construction.

## CHAP. VI.

*Existence of an Evil Being. Translation of  
the words Σαταν and Διαβόλος.*

Another effort to regulate Scripture by the standard of Unitarian faith occurs in the singular mode of occasionally translating the words Σαταν and Διαβόλος, not as proper names, but as nouns appellative. They are therefore thus rendered in the following passages : “Get thee behind me, *thou adversary*, Matt. xvi. 23. Have I not chosen you twelve? And yet one of you is *a false accuser*, John vi. 71 : There hath been given to me a thorn in the flesh, an *angel-adversary* to buffet me, 2 Cor. xii. 7. Give not advantage to *the slanderer*, Ephes. iv. 28. Lest the *adversary* should gain advantage over us ; for we are not ignorant of his devices, 2 Cor. ii. 11. Have been taken captive by *the accuser*, 2 Tim. ii. 26.”

The object proposed by this translation, and explicitly avowed in various explanatory notes, introduced at almost every possible opportunity, evidently is, to exclude from the Christian creed, in conformity with the sentiments of the Unitarian school, the doctrine of an evil Being superior to man. They think it, I presume, irrational to suppose, that a being of this description exists, because such an existence falls not immediately under the cognizance of the human faculties ; and what they do not think it rational to conceive, they will not allow to be contained in holy Scripture. Hence they tell us more than once, that the term *devil* means only “the principle of evil personified,” Matt. xiii. 39 ; John viii. 44 ; 1 John iii. 8.

To enter into a philosophical discussion of this subject would be foreign to my design, as well as irrelevant to the point which can be correctly said to be in controversy.

The point in dispute is rather a question of fact than one of philosophy : it is simply, whether Jewish opinions and Jewish phraseology will warrant us in concluding, that by the expressions *Σαταν* and *Διαβολος* our Saviour and his Apostles meant a real person, or merely a personified quality.

Truths universally admitted require no formal definition; they are usually introduced in the way of allusion, and in most instances are solely deducible from some opinion stated, or for some fact recorded, by inference. If then the existence of an evil spirit be no where directly asserted in the Old Testament, we must not on that account imagine, that it is not expressly implied there, for a similar remark may be made respecting the doctrine of a future state ; and yet are we forbidden by Christ himself to deny that it is there distinctly taught, *Matt. xxii. 32.*

In the book of Job, a book to which critics coincide in imputing the highest antiquity,\* an evil Being, under the

\* Carpzovius, if not the last, doubtless not the least, of biblical critics, gives the following opinion, as the result of his reflections upon the subject of its antiquity: “*Sic divinus jam ante Mosen extabat Jobi liber poeticus, ad instructionem fidelium lectus quidem, et asservatus, sed Canonico nondum αξιωματι insignis. Postquam antem divinis auspiciis Mosis opera condendi Canonis sacrificatum esset initium, diu post, circa Samuelis forte ætatem, ejusdemque ni fallor manu, divini numinis jussu, canonicis ille libris additus et ad latus Arcæ in Sanctuario publice repositus videtur, cum Prologo ac Epilogo historico θεοπνευστος ornasset auxissetque illum Samuel, ut quæ sermonum a Jobo exaratorum occasio, quis scopus, quis historiæ nexus, quæ rerum gestarum series, et catastrophe fuerit, ad communem Ecclesiæ omnium temporum notitiam et edificationem, ad oculum patere. Ut adeo geminum agnoscat liber scriptorem, Jobum, qua sui parte metro est, adstrictus, et Samuelem, quod ad capito priora duo, et postremum attinet. Ad Samuelem vero ea de causa referre malui, quod loquendi modus, in priore Samuelis libro adhibitus, ex asse illi respondet, quo prosaica in libro Jobi capita personant. Tum plane tam perspicue tam pure utrobique sermo se habet Ebræus, tam ordinate porro, ac succincte narrationis series ut ovum vix ovo similis.*” *Introductio ad Lib. Poet. Bibl. p. 53. Ed. 1731.*

designation of Satan, is directly noticed as appearing in the divine presence, and as obtaining permission to attack the integrity of Job by the severest temporal afflictions. This character, it is true is considered by some as merely ideal, as nothing more than an elegant embellishment of a sublime poem. Those, however, who thus consider it, do not perhaps sufficiently reflect, that poets are not philosophers: that the celestial Beings usually described by them are not the sole creatures of their own imagination, but such as are to be found in the popular creed of their times; and that the gods of Homer and Virgil, not less than the angels and devils of Milton, were supposed to exist in nature. Besides, if we are at liberty to presume that Satan is an ideal character, are we not at equal liberty to presume the same of the other party, in the dialogue, even of God himself?

But, in truth, it is impossible for the character of Satan to be here contemplated as a mere poetical embellishment; and that for the plainest of all reasons; because the chapters in which it is introduced contain nothing bearing the slightest resemblance of poetry. the two first chapters of Job are manifestly prosaic, and are expressed after the manner of the simplest and purest narrative. No metrical composition occurs until the third chapter, and then commences a style wholly dissimilar, to the preceding, not only as being poetical, but as appearing, in the judgment of the best critics, to be replete with Arabisms, and an obsolete Hebrew phraseology anterior to the times of Moses. Since therefore the preparatory narrative, in which alone any mention is made of Satan, is perfectly prosaic, and bespeaks a different author, as well as a latter period, it is absurd to throw out crude conjectures about poetical imagery, where neither metre nor poetry exists.

With the passage alluded to in Job may be compared another in 1 Kings xxii. 19, in which the prophet Michaiah describes an almost similar transaction in almost similar



terms. The hosts of heaven are represented in both instances as standing in the presence of God, and a particular spirit is noticed as introducing himself into the angelical assembly, and as counselling, and subsequently executing evil against an individual among men. This spirit is in Job denominated השטן *the Satan*, a word usually considered as derived from a root signifying to *hate* or *oppose*; in the book of Kings he is denominated הרוח *the spirit*; the former being a designation taken from the malignity of his disposition, the latter one taken from the immortality of his nature. That the prophet Michaiah meant by the expression הרוח a superior Being *of a particular description*, seems evident from the demonstrative prefix ה; and as a superior Being *of a particular description*, is directly pointed out, is not his identity with the Satan of Job apparent from the nature of his counsel and agency, from his becoming “a lying spirit” רוח שקר in the mouths of the prophets of Ahab, to lead that prince on to destruction? Although we were to admit that the inspired writers might in neither instance intend to represent the celestial council as an actual occurrence, adopting the form of dialogue, that prominent feature of all oriental composition, because it was the most usual and most impressive; yet would it be one thing to suppose the dialogue, and another to suppose the characters, to which it is ascribed, fictitious. Nor does it appear more reasonable to make a partial selection among those characters at pleasure; to consider God and the angels as real beings, and Satan, the principal agent in both transactions, as an imaginary one; to introduce the Deity himself conversing with an absolute non-entity. Besides, even in the boldest style of prosopopœia, it would be unintelligible, to affix any other denomination to the thing or quality personified, than its true and appropriate one. Thus had Solomon, in his elegant personification of *wisdom*, (Proverbs viii.) substituted for *wisdom* the term *friendship*, because *wisdom* is *friendly* to the best inte-

rests of man ; or, what would have been still more obscure, the *friend* ; would not his allusion have been utterly incomprehensible ? And yet must we say, according to what Unitarians consider as the only rational exposition of the passage, that the author of the two first chapters of Job, when he wished to personify *evil*, sufficiently marked his meaning by adopting the expression הַשָּׂטָן *the enemy*, solely because *evil* is *inimical* to man.

To the preceding quotations from Job and Kings may be subjoined another of a similar import. It is this : “ And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and *Satan* הַשָּׂטָן standing at his right hand to *resist* him, לְשָׂטָן. And the Lord said unto *Satan*, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan.” Zech. iii. 1, 2. Here some have conjectured, that the word *Satan* means only those adversaries who opposed the high-priest in the rebuilding of the temple, after the return of the Israelites from captivity. It is remarkable, however, that St. Jude gives the precise form of reproof mentioned by Zechariah on this occasion ; “ The Lord rebuke thee,” as one used by Michael the archangel in a contention with something more than a mere *human* adversary. Indeed most commentators are disposed to think, that St. Jude alludes to this very passage in Zechariah ; and much ingenuity has been exhibited\* in reconciling the texts. But for my pre-

\* Certainly not the least ingenious conjecture on this subject is that of Stosch, which Schleusner gives in the following terms : Jude 9, ad quem locum tamen aliam eamque ingeniosam conjecturam protulit Stosch in Archæol. Œconom. N. T. p. 41, qui σῶμα Μωϋσεως reddit *servum Mosis*, ipsumque adeo pontificem maximum *Josuum* intelligit, simulque monet σῶμα in notione *mancipii, servi*, etiam honoratiori sensu adhiberi *de militibus cujuscunque ordinis.*” Lexic. Art. σῶμα. For the acceptation of σῶμα in the sense of a *servant*, see Wetstein in Apoc. xviii. 13.

Schoetgen, in his Horæ Talmud. vol. i. p. 1080, offers another conjecture. He considers σῶμα Μωϋσεως as a Hebraism, meaning only

sent purpose it is not perhaps material. If St. Jude really alludes to it, the meaning of the word Satan, at least as he understood it, will be evident. If he does not, but refers to another author and a different transaction, this, instead of diminishing, will be only adding to, the testimony; for even apocryphal testimony, in corroborating the usual acceptance of a particular phrase, must be deemed admissible. If therefore the style of the angelical reproof be the same in Zechariah, in St. Jude, and in a preceding apocryphal, author, and if the party reproofed be in each instance described under the same appellation, will it not follow, that in each instance also the same character is designated?

So general indeed was the persuasion among the Jews of this reproof being uttered to an infernal spirit, that in the Talmud we find the repetition of the very words alluded to proposed as the most effectual protection against the attacks of Satan. The superstitious Talmudists\* caution their timid disciple, a warning said to have been given by *Sammuel*, who is elsewhere termed *Satan*, the angel of death, not to stand in the way of a female procession returning from a funeral, “because,” saith the angel of death, “because I, with sword in hand, leap exulting before it, and I possess the dominion of torture. מַפְנֵי שְׂאֲנֵי מֶרְקֵד וּבֵּית לִפְנֵיהֶן וְחֶרְבִי בְיָדִי וַיֵּשׁ לִי רִשׁוּת לַחֲבֹל. But if,” continues the Gemara, “the meeting be unavoidable, what is his remedy? Let him recede some paces from the spot. If a river be near, let him ford it; or if a road in another direction, let him proceed that way; or if a wall, let him stand behind it. But if, no retreat ap-

*Moses himself*: but he does not make out his point. In Rabbinical Hebrew indeed גּוֹפ is used reciprocally, but always, I conceive, with a pronominal affix, and not in construction with another substantive.

\* Ordo זְרִיעִים Codex ברכות cap. vii. *Gemara*. Bartolucci Bib. Rabbin. v. iii. p. 369. A passage of a similar tendency is also quoted by Wagensail in his *Sota*, p. 484.

pear, then let him turn his face and exclaim, ‘*The Lord said to Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan;*’ and the danger shall depart from him.”

Would you then, perhaps the Unitarians will say, with that contempt which generally characterizes the conceit of superior wisdom, would you then revive the obsolete extravagance of Rabbinical reverie? Certainly not. But my argument surely will not suffer by the proof, that the Jews themselves, who manifestly could not have been influenced by Christian expositions, have always understood the text of Zechariah precisely as I do, and precisely indeed as the generality of Christians have always done. To establish the fact is one thing: but to approve of every absurdity which a superstitious imagination may deduce from it, is clearly another.

In addition also to what has been said, it may be remarked, that the expression *השטן*, with the demonstrative *ה* prefixed, occurs but twice in the Old Testament, in Job and in Zechariah; and that in both cases the Being so denominated appears in the presence of, and is addressed by, God himself. Is it not therefore highly improbable, that the same expression, thus distinguished, should, in the first instance, signify the personification of an abstract idea, that of *evil*; and in the second, a mere *human being*?

Were the foregoing observations insufficient to prove the ancient belief in a superior order of evil spirits, an additional argument might be brought from Deuter. xxxii. 17, where it is said, “They sacrificed to *devils*, *שדים*, not to God.” For it seems indisputable, that the word *שדים*, whatsoever difference of opinion may be entertained respecting its derivation, must mean detested objects of heathen worship, which were supposed to possess a real existence, because it is translated *Δαιμονια*, not only in the Septuagint, but by the author of the apocryphal book Baruch, c. iv. 7, and by the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. x. 20; and the

spiritual nature also of the *Δαιμονια* is strongly asserted both in the Apocrypha and in the New Testament.

Apocryphal testimony indeed is inadmissible in settling a point of doctrine; but it may at least be received in determining the currency of an opinion. It should be therefore noticed, that in the Wisdom of Solomon the fall of man is directly imputed to the envy of *the devil*: "For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity; nevertheless through *envy of the devil*, φθῖνον Διαβολας, came death into the world, and they who *hold to his side*, οἱ της εκεινας μεριδος οντες, do find it." c. ii. 23, 24. Is not the personality of the Devil, Διαβολας, here pointed out in terms, the meaning of which it is impossible to mistake?

Having thus considered the principle traces of the subject before me discoverable in the Old Testament, I shall now turn to the New.

The authors of this Version affirm, the word *Satan*, whatsoever might have been the vulgar opinion, certainly, in the contemplation of Christ and his Apostles, indicate not a real but a fictitious being.

It is natural however to ask, upon what proof do they ground their argument, that the *private* opinion of our Saviour was in direct opposition to his *public* testimony; that when he spoke of *Satan* he meant by that expression no more than a symbolical existence, the mere personification, of an abstract quality? They will perhaps answer, upon the presumption that he could not, consistently with reason, have meant otherwise. But why should it be deemed irrational to conceive, that intellectual beings of a superior order may have transgressed the laws of their Creator, as well as those of an inferior order; that there should be bad angels as well as bad men? And what is this rule of human reason, from which revelation itself must never be supposed to swerve? If they will listen to a critic of



character, whose occasional aberrations from received opinion at least must recommend him to their esteem, he will tell them, that "what we call *reason*, and by which we would new model the Bible," (he is speaking of theological conjecture in the emendation of the text,) "is frequently nothing more than *some fashionable system of philosophy*, which lasts only for a time, and appears so absurd to those who live in later ages, that they find it difficult to comprehend how rational beings can have adopted such ridiculous, notions."\* And he instances the example of the Gnostics. In the days of Gnosticism indeed every thing was spiritualized, and credulity carried to an extreme one way; but now, it seems, every thing is to be materialized, and in credulity pushed to an extreme the other. Truth, however, I am persuaded, may still be found in the middle system; in a system equally remote from the fantastical reveries of the Gnostics, and from the negative hypotheses of the Unitarians.

But let us more attentively consider the proofs of this supposed Christian philosophy. We must understand then that a professed object of our Saviour's mission was to abolish the superstitious doctrine of evil spirits; to eradicate from the popular mind the ideal empire of darkness. Conceiving this therefore to have been an object of his mission, how, we may ask, did he effect it? Was it, as in the case of Pharisaical superstition, by attacking the offensive creed in bold and disdainful language, and in terms exposing it without reserve, to merited contempt and infamy? Indisputably not. But, on the other hand, by adopting it on every occasion as his own, by temporizing with his hearers, by fostering their prejudices even to satiety, and by ultimately leaving them to correct their own errors! Surely if such were our Saviour's object, his mode of accom-

\* Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part. i. p. 415.

plishing that object was rather singular.\* Nor should it be forgotten, that the Unitarians, on other occasions, withhold at pleasure their belief in every thing which is not expressly and repeatedly declared; yet on this occasion would they wish us to believe that which is not declared at all; which is solely deducible from an assumed paramount rule of reason, and from principles of scriptural interpretation too refined for vulgar comprehension.

If it were one avowed object of our Saviour's mission to annihilate the received doctrine of an evil Being, we might conjecture, that some very early indication of it would appear in the Evangelical history. But, on the contrary, we are informed, that at the very commencement of his ministry he was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by *the devil*," Matt. iv. 1, and this is stated with various particulars of the event, without the slightest collateral or ulterior explanation. The authors of the New Version, indeed say, "This form of expression (viz. 'Jesus was led up by the Spirit,') denotes that the historian is about to describe a *visionary* scene, and not a real event." And so said *Farmer* before them. But what is the reply of another favourite writer of the same school? "When this is the case," observes Mr. John Jones, "it is *always declared* that the scene is *visionary*, and not *real*. \* \* \* \* \* Do the Evangelists then say, that the temptations of Christ, or the scenes which he saw, were a *vision*? Not a word, nor the slightest intimation of the kind is given by them; and there is as good reason for supposing that he was *baptized*, or *announced* by a voice from heaven as the Son of God, in a *vision*, as for thinking he was *tempted in a vision*," p. 630. Again, With the New Testament in our hands, we feel ourselves surrounded with the mild and benignant splendour of *truth*

\* See Mr. John Jones's "Illustrations of the four Gospels," p. 172, 173.

*and reality* ; but this critic (viz. *Farmer*) would envelope our hemisphere in gloom at the moment the Sun of righteousness sheds his purest, serenest rays on our horizon ; and *with preposterous officiousness* would reflect on our path the livid light of a midnight taper, when the Son of God himself stands before us clothed with the luminary of day." p. 632. It seems, then, that it must not be *a vision*. Still however, although "we feel ourselves surrounded with the mild and benignant splendour of *truth and reality*," it may only be, according to the second hypothesis of our translators, "a figurative description of the train of thoughts which passed through the mind of Jesus." And this is the opinion of Mr. Cappe, and *Mr. John Jones himself*. I shall not however waste my time in attempting to split the hair of reality between writers whose only difference of opinion seems to be, that, while one represents our Saviour as foreseeing, in a *vision at Nazareth*, the future scene of his sufferings, and, "in order to qualify him for death, as dreaming that he should die," the other represents him as foreseeing the same scene *with his eyes open in the wilderness* ; but shall pass on to other considerations, simply noticing "the *confirmation* (as it is termed) of his interpretation," given by Mr. John Jones, who, without any particular comment, refers for this purpose to a well known allegory of Xenophon, denominated "*the Choice of Hercules* ;" and adds, that "nothing in all antiquity can be found more similar to the temptation of our Lord, both in sentiment and language !" p. 633.

To examine therefore with a little more accuracy this new idea, that the assertion of an affirmative is sometimes the most effectual mode of proving a negative, when our blessed Saviour, certainly not at the moment very anxious to avoid "alienating and inflaming his countrymen,"\* thus addresses the Jews ; Ye are of your father *the devil*, and

\* Illustrations of the four Gospels, p. 171.

the lusts of your father ye will do : he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth," John viii. 44, is it possible to conceive, that he was playing with their prejudices, and merely alluded to a *personified quality*? When likewise, in his description of the day of judgment, he uses the terms "everlasting fire, prepared for *the devil* and his angels," Matt. xxv. 41, can we, consistently with common sense, suppose that, by the words *the devil and his angels*, he meant and wished his hearers to understand him as meaning nothing more than metaphorical existence? If it be nevertheless still insisted, that, when speaking to the people at large, he had a purpose to answer in humouring popular prejudice, by the adopting of popular language, it will scarcely, I presume, be argued, that he had any purpose to serve in adopting a similar language when addressing his own disciples. And yet we find him frequent in the use of it. To them he says, even in explanation of a parable, "the enemy that sowed the tares is *the devil*," Matt. xiii. 39 : a most singular assertion indeed by way of proving the non-existence of such a being. When also they tell him, that "even the devils, *δαίμονια*, are subject to him," Luke x. 17, instead of correcting their error, if error he conceived it to be, he replies, "I beheld Satan like lightning fall from heaven." In another place, addressing himself to Peter, he exclaims, Simon, Simon, behold, *Satan* hath desired to have you," Luke xxii. 31. And even after his resurrection, when he appeared in a vision to St. Paul, he calls him "to turn men from darkness to light, and *from the power of Satan* unto God," Acts xxvi. 18.

Nor are the Apostles, in their Epistles both to Jews and Gentiles, more scrupulous in the free use of language, which, if they had not learned, they at least had heard, from their divine Master.\* To reconcile their phraseolo-

\* See John xiii 2; Acts xiii. 10; Rom. xvi. 20; 1 Cor. v. 5, vii. 5;

gy to the Unitarian hypothesis is a task which no effort and straining will ever satisfactorily accomplish. One would conceive that, when St. Paul speaks of "delivering such a one to *Satan*," 1 Cor. v. 15, and of "Satan's transforming himself into an angel of light," 2 Cor. xi. 14, he meant the same person. But our new interpreters tell us, that in the first instance *Satan* is to be considered as a sort of ideal sovereign over an ideal kingdom of darkness : in the latter, as a false Apostle, the leading adversary of St. Paul. I shall quote the last passage. Speaking of false teachers, St. Paul observes, that "they transform themselves into the Apostles of Christ. And no wonder : for *Satan* also transformeth himself also into an angel of light. It is therefore no great thing if his ministers also transform themselves as ministers of righteousness." What can possibly be more simple in its import ? This however is to be thus perplexed ; As the *leading adversary* of St. Paul. denominated *Satan*, transforms himself into an *angel of light* ; that is, arrogates to himself the character of a *messenger from God* ;" so also the *ministers of this adversary* transform themselves into the ministers of righteousness, that is, "pretend to be the *Apostles of the Messiah*." But where do we find any mention of this *leading adversary*, who arrogated to himself the character of an *angel*, (for the words *angel of light* cannot, I maintain, be lowered into the direct sense of a *mere messenger from God*, such as were all the prophets,) and who, in pursuance of his divine mission, had *his appropriate ministers*, *δρακονοι* ? Did St. Paul ever term his fellow labourers, in the Gospel *his ministers* ? The ministers of Satan contrasted with the ministers of Christ is sufficiently intelligible. But where is the contrast in opposing the ministers of a false apostle

2 Cor. ii. 11, xi. 14, xii. 7 ; Ephes. iv. 27, vi. 11 ; 1 Thess. ii. 18 ; 2 Thess. ii. 9 ; 1 Tim. i. 20 ; iii. 6, 7 ; v. 15 ; 2 Tim. ii. 26 ; Heb. ii. 14. James. viii. 7 ; 1 Pet. v. 3 ; 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.



to the ministers of Christ, unless we can also suppose a contrast in the principles ; viz. between the false apostle himself and our Saviour ? Besides, the word *Satan* is Hebrew, not Greek ; and as being therefore in all probability only known to the Corinthians in a peculiar sense, was scarcely used by St. Paul to express the general idea of *an adversary*.

But a still more singular exposition occurs in a comment, which they adopt from another writer, upon a passage of St. Jude. In order to point out the dreadful judgments of God against the disobedient, the Apostle instances the punishment of the fallen angels, the destruction of the world by water in the days of Noah, and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire from heaven. The case of the fallen angels he thus describes : “ The angels who kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in eternal chains to the judgment of the great day,” ver. 4. In explanation of this the following paraphrase is given : “ The messengers who watched not duly over *their own principality*, but deserted their proper habitation, he kept with perpetual chains under darkness (*punished them with judicial blindness of mind*) unto the judgment of a great day, i. e. *when they were destroyed by a plague*. Alluding to the falsehood and punishment of the spies, Numb. xiv. 36, 37 !” Were we however disposed to try the experiment, of converting the word *angel* into *messengers*, and to consider these as the spies sent out by Moses and the Israelites to investigate the land of Canaan, what possible sense can be made of the crime imputed to them ; viz. “ that they watched not duly over their own principality ?” Nor can those with any propriety be said to have “ deserted their proper habitation,” ἀπολιποντας τοῦ ἑαυτῶν οἰκητηρίου, who had no proper habitation to desert. Besides, could we suppose that the phrase, “ *judgment of the great day*,” is synonymous with that of *destruction by the plague*, still would it require the talent of Œdipus

himself in the solution of metaphorical ænigma to demonstrate how the words, *he kept in eternal chains under darkness,*" δέσμοις αἰδίοις ὑπο ζοφον τετηρηκεν, can possibly mean, *he punished with judicial blindness of mind*; particularly as St. Peter, who adduces the same example, adds the participle ταβταρωσας, σειραις ζοφου ταβταρωσας παρεδωκεν, "*having cast them down to hell, he delivered them into chains of darkness,*" 2 Pet. ii. 4. And with what propriety can *judicial blindness of mind*, the act, I presume, of forming an erroneous judgment of the promised land, which constituted the crime of the spies, be termed their punishment?

On the whole then; if the existence of a spiritual enemy to man, under the denomination of *Satan*, is discoverable in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; if this were confessedly the popular creed at the period of the promulgation of Christianity; if our Saviour himself adopted it as his own creed without any ulterior explanation, not only when publicly addressing the people, but also when privately conversing with his own disciples; and if the Apostles likewise expressed themselves in similar language, it seems reasonable to conclude, that *Satan* is described as a real, and not as a fictitious being. That translation therefore of the word Σαταν cannot be correct, which, by rendering it *adversary*, deprives it of the peculiar sense which was usually affixed to it. It admits indeed in Hebrew as well the general sense of *adversary* or *accuser*, as the particular sense of *a fallen angel*. But it should be recollected, that the question turns upon its meaning in the Greek, and not in the Hebrew Scriptures. Had the Apostles intended to express the general idea of *an adversary*, they would doubtless have used αντιδικος, or some other equivalent Greek expression; because otherwise they would have been unintelligible to those, for whose instruction they wrote. *Satan*, as a term appropriate to an evil Being of a superior nature, could only be understood we may pre-

sume, by the Greeks as it still is by us in English : but had St. Luke, for example, instead of ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου σου ἐπὶ ἀρχόντα, c. xii. 58, written ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ σου ἐπὶ ἀρχόντα, that is, instead of, “when thou goest *with thine adversary* to the magistrate,” had he written, “when thou goest with thy *Satan* to the magistrate,” would not both Greek and English have appeared a little nonsensical? The appropriate name of a person or thing, or of a class of persons or things, before unknown, may be naturally borrowed from another language in which it is familiarly used ; but to suppose that the inspired writers of the New Testament, when addressing those who were ignorant of Hebrew, unnecessarily adopted from that tongue words expressive only of general ideas, would be to convert them into a sort of conceited triflers, whose object was rather to puzzle than to instruct. That the Greek language contained no term peculiarly appropriate to the name of a being, respecting whose existence the Greeks had no knowledge, must be evident. Hence therefore appears the reason why the Apostles on such occasions used an Hebrew expression. But even this, it may be said, would not have been intelligible, without a previous explanation. Most certainly it would not ; and that very circumstance tends to prove the specific sense in which it was meant to be understood. For if the Apostles, as well as the Jews in general, believed in the real existence of *Satan*, it is obvious that they would inculcate the same opinion on their heathen converts, and would consequently explain to them the meaning of that term ; but if they did not believe in it, no possible necessity could arise for their explaining it, at all. Would they not rather have abstained from every allusion to it, than have run the risk of appearing to countenance a creed which they disclaimed ; and this solely for the puerile pleasure of sporting with a tortured metaphor? That they proceeded still further, and previously explained the general meaning of a certain Hebrew expression, without

any particular object of the kind alluded to in view, is surely a position which should shock even the conjectural credulity of the new school.

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## CHAP. VI.

### *Translation of the word Ἀγγέλως, Heb. i. Disputed books. Griesbach. Conclusion.*

Although the Translators take every possible opportunity to represent a belief in the existence of fallen angels as irrational, and therefore unscriptural, they do not altogether deny the existence of angels themselves. This they seem to admit; yet, as the word *ἄγγελος* means both *a messenger* and *an angel*, they sometimes attempt, for certain theological purposes, to give it the former in preference to the latter signification, in direct opposition to the context. When St. Stephen states the law to have been received “by the ministry of angels,” we are informed in a note, that thunder, lightning and tempest, may be called *angels*, like the plague of Egypt, Psalm lxxviii. 49; and the burning wind, Isaiah xxxvii. 36;”\* or that

\* But the illustrations here adduced are defective in proof. The *evil angels* or *angels inflicting evils*, mentioned Psalm lxxviii. 49. ought rather perhaps to be taken literally, in allusion to Exodus xii. 23, where the *מַשְׁחֵת הַמָּוֹת* *the destroyer* (τον ὀλοθρευοντα in the Septuagint) is introduced as only permitted to strike the first-born of the Egyptians; and this sense, it should be remarked, is evidently given to the phrase in the Greek Version of Symmachus, who renders it *ἄγγέλων κακωντων*, *angels afflicting them with evils*. See also 2 Sam. xxiv. 17, in which David is stated to have *seen* the angel who smote the people with pestilence. With respect to the passage in Isaiah, that which is termed *a burning wind* is expressly stated in the text to have been *the angel of the Lord*, who is represented as having *gone out* (אצ) and smitten in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred fourscore and five thousand. Why must we attribute to natural

these angels may only mean "Moses, Aaron, Joshua, and a succession of authorized prophets and *messengers of God.*" But a more striking instance of their perverting the obvious import of this word occurs in several passages of the first chapter of the Hebrews, in which they uniformly translate it *messenger*; and it is this translation which I propose particularly to consider.

Their object is sufficiently evident. Throughout the whole of the chapter in question the superiority of Christ to the angels is too distinctly asserted to be explained away. In imitation therefore of Wakefield, they endeavour to get rid of the difficulty at once (a difficulty which might otherwise prove a stumbling-block to their creed) by rendering, ἀγγελοι *messengers*, and by giving us at the same time to understand, that the messengers alluded to are the prophets of the Old Testament. The authority of Wakefield I admit to be respectable; a writer certainly of classical taste, and of elegant attainments, but by no means ranking high on the list of biblical critics: whose translation of the New testament is, like theirs, deeply tinged by his creed, and whose professed attachment to truth and candour was too often biassed by prejudice, and disgraced by sarcasm. Those however who boast the habit, and experience the pride, of dissent, will not, I presume, expect others to adopt, without examination, the opinion of any man whatsoever; particularly an opinion, the credit of which, unsupported both by reasoning and precedent, solely rests upon the critical acumen of Wakefield.

In the two first chapters of this Epistle the word ἀγγελοι occurs not less than nine times; in the first six of which it is translated *messengers*, but in the remaining three, *angels*. This incorrectness of style, however it is obser-

causes alone what is plainly described in Scripture as effected by the agency of supernatural beings? It cannot be because we disbelieve the existence of such beings.



ved, to which the ambiguity of the word gives rise, is not uncommon in the sacred writers, but no parallel case specifically in point, or indeed any at all, is alleged in proof of the assertion. Surely this, as Mr. Nares justly remarks, “is an extraordinary mode of reconciling matters ; for it is not the Apostle, but the Editors themselves, who give these different senses to the term *angel*, and then censure the sacred writers for *an incorrectness of style.*”\*

I shall not, I trust, be accused of mistaking their argument, if I reduce it to this simple assertion ; that, as the word *angel* is sometimes used in the Old Testament to denote a *prophet*, so also is the same signification to be annexed to it in the particular passage under consideration.

The term indeed is doubtless applied to the prophets in some, but not in many passages of the Old Testament ; yet ought we to remark, that it is never so applied without a pronoun, or a genitive case connected with it, indicative of him whose messengers they were. Often however it stands alone, and is then only used to designate those superior beings, of whom it is the sole characteristic appellation, to whom it is exclusively a name descriptive, specific, and appropriate. Thus, to quote one out of many instances, it is said, 1 Kings xix. 5, that, when Elijah, flying from the vengeance of Jezebel, and exhausted with fatigue, lay under a juniper tree, *an angel* מלאך touched him, and said, arise and eat. Here we perceive the term occurring alone, without even the prefix (or definite article) ה and distinctly pointing out a being, well known under that particular denomination. But the construction is wholly dissimilar when it is applied to the prophets : for then we read, “The Lord sent to them by *his* messengers, \* \* \* but they mocked the messengers of God, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16 ; The Lord, who performeth the counsel of *his* messengers, Isaiah xliv. 26 ;

\* Remarks, p. 119.

Then spake Haggai *the Lord's messenger*, Hag. i. 13; He is the messenger *of the Lord of Hosts*, Malachi ii. 7; And I will send *my messenger*, Malachi iii. 1:" and these are the only texts in which it is to be found in the latter signification. The reason of the difference I apprehend to be obvious, In the first case, it is sufficiently declarative of its own meaning; but in the last, not being so declarative, it requires some adjunct to determine the precise sense of its synonymous application. Had Haggai, for instance, described himself as *a messenger*, instead of *the Lord's messenger*, would not the phraseology have been incomplete, if not unintelligible?

In opposition however to every legitimate principle of construction, these Translators contend with Wakefield, that when the Son is described, Heb. i. 4, as "being made so much better than *the angels*, κρείττων των αγγελων, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they," the expression, των αγγελων signifies not *the angels*, but "*the prophets*, who are mentioned in the first verse." Yet that αγγελος generally means *angel*, in the usual acceptation of the term, they seem themselves to admit, because they thus translate it *sixty-three* out of *seventy-four* times,\* in which it occurs unconnected with every other word capable of determining its precise sense. And of

\* I have observed it in the following texts: Matt. iv. 11, xiii. 39, 49, xxvi. 53; Mark i. 13; Luke xvi. 22; John v. 4, xii. 29; Acts vi. 15, vii. 35, 38, xii. 8, 9, 10, xxiii. 8; Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. iv. 9, xi. 10, xiii. 1; Gal. iii. 19; Col. ii. 18; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, ii. 2, 5, 7, 9, 16, xii. 22, xiii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 12, iii. 22; 2 Pet. ii. 4, 11; Rev. i. 20, vii. 1, 2, 11, viii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, ix. 1, 11, x. 1, 5, 7, 3, xi. 15, xiv. 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, xv. 1, 6, 7, 8, xvi. 1, 3, 5, xviii. 1, xix. 17, xxi. 9, 12.

It is translated *messenger*, 1 Cor. xi. 10; Gal. iii. 19; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, ii. 2, xiii. 2; 1 Pet. iii. 22: and we are told that in Gal. iii. 19, the *messengers* mean *officers*, that is, *Priests and Levites*; in 1 Tim. iii. 16, the *Apostles*; and in Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, ii. 2, the *Prophets* of the Old Testament.

the eleven instances, in which they render it *messenger*, six will be found in the very passages under consideration. This circumstance alone surely proves on which side the general presumption of its import lies.

But I maintain that the word *αγγελοι* must here necessarily mean *angels*, a class of beings to whom it is peculiarly appropriated, because, although the prophets may be described, as I have already pointed out, under the title of the messengers of God," they cannot be correctly termed "*the messengers.*" We readily comprehend how they are said to be the messengers of God, in common with others; but we do not well understand how they can be denominated *the messengers* emphatically and exclusively. I may likewise remark, that they are called *the servants*, as well as *the messengers*, of God, and even that more frequently.\* But should we not condemn the phraseology as strangely incorrect, which, when it is meant to assert the superiority of Christ over *the prophets*, should simply represent him as superior to *the servants*?

To take off, however, as much as possible from the manifest incongruity of the expression, and to introduce a sort of reference to the prophets incidentally mentioned in the first verse, as the agents by whom God had formerly revealed his will to mankind, the Translators adopt the Version of Wakefield. and render *των αγγελων*, which does not occur till the fourth verse, "*those messengers.*" It may appear too harsh to denominate this a perversion of the sacred text; but it must be admitted to be an unauthorized addition of a not insignificant pronoun,† for the express

\* The phrases *my*, *his*, or *thy servants the prophets*, occur no less than sixteen times in the Old, and twice in the New Testament; 2 Kings ix. 7, xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Ezra ix. 11; Jerem. vii. 25, xxv. 4, xxvi. 5, xxix. 19, xxxv. 15; Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Dan. ix. 6, 10; Amos iii. 7; Zech. i. 6; Revelations x. 7, xi. 18.

† The Article *ὁ* in Greek is indeed sometimes used emphatically, as *ὁ προφητης ει συ*, John i. 21; but so also is the English Article *the* as

purpose of supporting a favourite exposition. Yet, if we even conceded to them all the advantage to be derived from such a translation, (a concession which, as in a similar case, they would not be disposed to grant ; so in this, I presume, they will not expect to receive, (still would it be impossible for them to establish the propriety of a phrase, which, in spite of all their efforts, could not but remain a palpable solecism.

Nor are we solely left to conjecture respecting the true import of the word *αγγελοι* ; for the context distinctly furnishes us with a clue to its meaning. We subsequently read, “Of his angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,” ver. 7 : and again, “Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?” ver. 14, Προς τας αγγελους λεγει, ‘Ο ποιων τας αγγελους αυτε πνευματα, και τας λειτεργους αυτου πυρος φλογα.’ \* \* \* \* Ουχι παντες εισι λειτεργικα πνευματα, εις διακονιαν αποσελλομενα, δια τας μελλοντας κληρονομειν σωτηριαν; The translation given in the New Version runs thus : “Of *these* messengers the Scripture saith, Who maketh the winds his messengers, and flames of lightning his ministers. \* \* \* Are they not all servants, sent forth to serve the future heirs of salvation?” I shall consider these passages separately.

Of the first it seems difficult to speak without an unusual expression of surprise. Admitting for a moment that *αγγελοι* means *messengers*, and *πνευματα* *winds*, instead of “Who maketh *his messengers the winds*, and *his ministers flames of lightning* ;” can we possibly render the words, “Who maketh *the winds his messengers* and

“Art thou *the prophet*?” which is the reading of the New Version. Must it not therefore be as incorrect to confuse the English Article *the* with the pronoun *this* or *that*, as it would be to confuse the Greek Article *ο* with the pronoun *εστος* or *εκεινος* ? Of this the new Translators themselves seemed aware when they rendered *ο προφητης* not *that*, but *the prophet*.

*flames of lightning his ministers,*” by a transposition, the principle of which is utterly inconceivable? And yet such is the rendering of the New Version. The Translators surely will never argue, that the transposition produces not the slightest difference in the sense; that it is, for example, precisely the same thing to say, “Inhumanity makes *a monster a man,*” as it is to say, “Inhumanity makes *a man a monster.*” Nor, although they may be themselves persuaded, than an unprejudiced investigation of truth must make *a Trinitarian an Unitarian,* will they therefore, I presume, admit, that an unprejudiced investigation of truth must make *an Unitarian a Trinitarian.* And how came they on this occasion so rashly to turn their backs upon their favourite Wakefield? How too could they overlook the severe censure of “that eminent scholar” upon the very translation of the passage which they choose to adopt? “Some,” he remarks, “reverse the translation here given, and render, *who maketh winds his messengers, and flaming fire his ministers:* which makes the passage *just nothing at all to the writer’s purpose;* and, not to speak harshly of these Translators,

———*ignoratæ premit artis crimine turpi.*”\*

But leaving them to exculpate themselves as they can from the disgraceful charge of ignorance, pronounced by a celebrated leader of their own party, and giving them, at the same time, the full advantage of his superior information, I still contend, that, arrange the passage as you please, the signification of *αγγελος* must be *angel,* and not *prophet.* For in what possible sense can *the prophets* be characteristically described as *winds* and *as flames of lightning?* Yet this may be consistently stated of *the angels,* who may be said to resemble *the wind in activity,* and *the lightning in velocity.* And if too, on the other hand, we translate *πνευματα* (perhaps more correctly) *spirits,*

\* Translation of the New Testament, vol. iii. p. 209.



and *πυρος φλογα* a *flaming fire*, not a shadow of doubt will remain upon the subject. Indeed, that the authors of the Septuagint so understood the original word רוחות, is evident from their translating it here *πνευματα*, after having in the last clause of the preceding verse rendered it *ανεμων*, the more appropriate Greek term for *winds*.\*

With respect to the latter part of the description, in which the *αγγελοι* are said to be *ministering spirits*, λει-

\* In this sense also the passage alluded to in the Psalms was always taken by the most ancient Jewish writers. Schoettgen observes, "Plerique Judæorum verba hæc de angelis eodem modo explicant. quorum omnia loca proferre nimis prolixum foret." *Horæ Heb. et Talm. in loc.* In the *Pirke R. Eliezer*, or *Chapters of R. Eliezer*, chap. iv, where an allusion is made to the creation of angels, this verse of the 104th Psalm is particularly referred to: המלאכים שנבראו ביום שני כשתן נשלחין ברברו נעשין רוחות וכשתן משרתים לפניו נעשין של אש שנתאמר עשה &c. "The angels who are created on the second day, when they are sent by his word, become spirits; and when they minister before him, become fiery, (של אש, of fire) as it is written, He made his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire." Four classes of *ministering angels*, מלאכי השרת, are then described as praising him, who alone is holy and blessed, and surrounding the throne of his glory.

Some critics have conceived, that the *πνευματα* *רוחות* *spirits*, mentioned in the first part of the verse in question, mean the *Cherubim*, and the *fiery ministers* in the second part the *Seraphim*. The very name *seraph* sufficiently elucidates the latter conjecture. And the former perhaps may be corroborated by the following remark of Drusius: "Ignorari videor, cur nomen, masculinum *Cherubim* 70 viri, Δq. et alii interpretes Græci genere neutro τα Χερουβιμ transtulissent. \* \* \* Ego arbitror τα Χερουβιμ compendio dici pro eo, quod est τα πνευματα Χερουβιμ, i. e. *spiritus, qui Cherubim nuncupantur.*" *Observ. Sac. lib. x. c. 21.*

It should likewise be particularly observed, that the word *πνευμα* occurs in other passages of the New Testament more than *three hundred and fifty times*; and yet is capable only in *one* instance, viz. John iii. 8, (an instance however disputed by Wakefield himself,) of being translated *wind*. The term generally used for *wind* is, as I have remarked above, *ανεμος*.

τῆς ψυχῆς πνεύματα, one might have conceived this to be a discriminating characteristic of the angelical nature impossible to be mistaken. But the Translators of the New Version, it seems, think differently, and render the word *servants*. Here however they do not, as in other instances, rest upon the prop either of the Primate's or of Wakefield's Version, but boldly venture at a little criticism of their own. They tell us in a note, that the phrase is a *Hebraism*; a convenient sort of term equally calculated for the display of knowledge, and the concealment of ignorance. They say, "The word *spirit* is a *Hebraism* to express a person's self, *v. g.* 1 Cor. ii. 11; the spirit of a man is a man, is a man himself; the spirit of God is God himself, 2 Tim. iv. 22. The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit, *i. e.* with thee." But how do they prove the supposed Hebraism? Instead of pointing out those passages where the corresponding term רִיח is thus used in the Old Testament, they merely produce two texts from the New, in which they state πνεύμα itself to bear the alleged signification. But if they could demonstrate so peculiar an acceptation of the word in Greek, this would not constitute it an Hebraism, I have examined Vorstius, Olearius, and other champions of Hebraisms, to ascertain, if possible, the grounds of their assertion, but in vain.

It seems not however very material, whether the phrase be an Hebraism, or not, if we can but settle its genuine import. If I understand them correctly, they contend that the term πνεύματα, in the passages referred to, is put, not for the *spirit* alone, but by synecdoche for *the whole man*. This, I presume, is all they mean, when they say, "that *the spirit of a man is a man, is a man himself*;" for I cannot conceive them to insinuate here the existence of a reciprocal, abhorrent from oriental usage, and inapplicable to the object in view. Taking it then as an instance of synecdoche, and that *the spirit of a man*, in the

first passage quoted, means only *the man*, we must understand the verse thus: "What man knoweth the things of a man, but *the man* which is in him?" Without being fastidious however upon the singularity of such a mode of expression, I presume that the words *το εν αυτω*, which is in him, plainly indicate, that *πνευμα*, with which they are connected, is taken in the sense of *spirit*, its usual acceptation. Nor, in the second passage quoted, is there the slightest ground for supposing that it bears a different meaning. The phrase, "with thy spirit," cannot, I apprehend, be considered as synonymous with "with thee," because it has an appropriate application to the context, which the other phrase has not; for the grace of Christ is only communicable to the *spirit* or soul of man. The pronoun *thee*, therefore, which implies the whole individual, cannot be correctly substituted for *thy spirit*, which implies only a peculiar part of that individual. To be sensible of this, we need only turn to another epistle of the same Apostle, where we shall find a distinction of the kind indisputable. "I know," he elsewhere remarks, "that *in me*, that is, *in my flesh*, εν τη σαρκι μου, dwelleth no good," Romans vii. 18. It is impossible, I conceive, to doubt of his intending here to qualify the general expression, *in me*, by the particular limitation which instantly follows; "that is, *in my flesh*." Ought we not then to understand the word *πνευμα* in an equally restricted sense, when under a similar construction?

But what, to sift the question a little more accurately, is really meant by this proposed instance of synecdoche? Are we, when it is recorded, that "Christ was led up *by the Spirit*," Matt. iv. 1, to suppose that Christ was led up *by himself*; or, when it is said, that "God is a spirit," John iv. 24, to understand the text as implying, that God is *himself*? It may perhaps be replied, that the cases are widely different, because the term *spirit* in 1 Cor. ii. 11, and 2 Tim. iv. 22, is connected with the genitive case of

a noun, or pronoun, denoting *a person*, to which person alone it relates ; but it is not so in these texts. I admit the justice of the remark ; but still I ask, How then, upon this very principle, can the supposed synecdoche be applicable to Heb. i. 14, the particular text in view ? Instead of being here joined to a genitive case expressive of a person, it is solely connected with an adjective, declarative of nothing but a mere quality. Had λειτεργικα πνευματα been λειτεργων πνευματα, it might have been possible to have dreamt of a synecdoche ; but one would have imagined, that, as the words stand, the very dream of so inapplicable a trope must have been precluded.

But whatsoever meaning we may affix to the words λειτεργικα πνευματα, it is plain, from the tense of the verb in the same sentence, that they were not meant to be applicable to the ancient prophets. Had the writer intended these words so to be, instead of “ *Are they not,*” he would doubtless have said, “ *Were they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation ?*” and that for this obvious reason ; because the prophets alluded to were dead some ages before the author of the Epistle was born. If however, on the other hand, we apply the words in question to the angels, every thing then becomes instantly clear and consistent. Perhaps also it may not be unimportant to add, as the writer appears, from internal evidence, to have been himself of the Hebrew nation, and as those whom he addressed indisputably were ; that in the Talmud, and other Rabbinical compositions, the epithet *ministering* perpetually recurs in connexion with the term *angels*, as one descriptive of their peculiar office. It is unnecessary to quote instances of a phraseology, which he who runs may read ; “ Nihil in scriptis Rabbinicis frequentius est hac locutione, quod angeli dicuntur מלאכי השרת *angeli ministeriales*, adeo, ut non opus sit loca quædam adscribere.”\*

\* Schoettgen Horæ Heb. in loc.

I have omitted, as superfluous, to notice an argument on this topic deducible from the contrast drawn between the Son and the *αγγελοι*; but I cannot help alluding to one passage, from the singularity of the translation: "To which of those messengers," it is said, "spake God at any time, Thou art my Son, this day I have *adopted* thee?" This is an extract from the second Psalm, which nevertheless they elsewhere translate, "Thou art my Son, this day I have *begotten* thee." Acts xiii. 33. Why this change in the translation? And what authority have they for rendering *קָבַץ* in the Hebrew, and *γενναω* in the Greek, *to adopt*? I may perhaps be told, that there is a metaphorical as well as natural filiation, and that the Psalm referred to evinces a metaphorical filiation to have been intended, because in its primary sense it must be considered as applicable to *David*, and to *Christ* only in its secondary sense. But this expedient will by no means answer the end proposed, because by the adoption of it we represent the writer of the Epistle as advancing an argument which carries with it its own refutation. For when, from a confident presumption that the question is unanswerable, he asks, "To which of those messengers, i. e. *prophets*, spake God at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" may we not instantly reply, *The prophet David*?

It would be foreign to my purpose, if not unimportant to the particular point at issue, were I to enter into the long agitated controversy respecting the author of this Epistle. It seems admitted on all sides, that it was composed at the apostolical period, and may therefore, I presume, be taken as evidence, upon general topics at least of the sentiments then entertained by orthodox Christians. The Translators themselves, in c. ii. 8, give what they deem "a presumptive proof, that it was either written by St. Paul, or by some person, perhaps Barnabas, or Luke, who was an associate with him, and familiarly acquainted



with the Apostle's style of thinking and reasoning ;" although they subsequently represent this as very uncertain. Lardner, after a full discussion of the subject, concludes in favour of the probability, that St. Paul was the author of it ; and Sykes strenuously contends for the same position. I omit the mention of other critics, from a persuasion, that the opinion of all, when added to the weight of that advanced by Lardner and by Sykes, can only prove, in the judgment of Unitarians, light as atoms of dust on the preponderating balance. Although, therefore, we cannot positively, we may at least, I trust, presumptively, ascribe it to St. Paul.

Having alluded to the uncertainty which has been supposed to exist respecting the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, I shall slightly notice some little inconsistency to be found in the account given of the other books of the New Testament, which have not been at all times, and in all countries, acknowledged as works indisputably of apostolical composition. These are, the Epistle of St. James, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation ; which are represented as books, whose genuineness was disputed by the early Christian writers." And yet we are afterwards informed, that the Epistle of St. James "is not unworthy of the Apostle, to whom it is generally ascribed ;" that the second and third Epistles of St. John so much resemble the first in subject and language, as not to leave "a doubt of their having the same author ;" and that the Revelation cannot be read by any intelligent or candid person, "without his being convinced, that, considering the age in which it appeared, none but a person *divinely inspired*, could have written it." Nothing therefore remains absolutely to be discarded, except the second of St. Peter, and the unfortunate Epistle of St. Jude, neither of which are admissible under the friendly shelter of the Unitarian wing. By these reflections, however, I am far from meaning to

censure the Translators of their laudable attempt at\* even partially rescuing from suspicion the controverted books ; the sole object which I have in view being simply to note, with what facility and prompt decision they here, as elsewhere, repudiate or verify, subvert or reestablish, the generally received canon of Scripture at pleasure.

Before I conclude my remarks upon this production, I shall slightly advert to a circumstance incidentally alluded to in another place, viz. that it is not what it professes to be, a translation scrupulously adhering to the text of Griesbach, “the most correct which has hitherto been published ;”† but one, in some instances, made from a text which

\* Why is so marked an exception made of St. Peter's second Epistle, and the Epistle of St. Jude? Lardner, after a detailed examination of the arguments alleged against their authenticity, concludes strongly in favour of it. Of St. Peter's two Epistles he says, “If we consult them, and endeavour to form a judgment by internal evidence, I suppose it will appear very probable, that both are of the same author. And it may seem somewhat strange, that any of the ancients hesitated about it, who had the two Epistles before them. \* \* \* I conclude therefore, that the two Epistles generally ascribed to the Apostle Peter are indeed his. \* \* \* \* *Certainly* these Epistles, and the discourses of Peter recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a *divine inspiration*.” History of the Apostles and Evangelists, chap. 19. Of the Epistle of St. Jude he says, “I have been thus prolix in rehearsing the passages of Clement ; for they appear to me to be a sufficient proof of the antiquity and *genuineness* of this Epistle ; or that it was writ by *Jude, one of Christ's twelve Apostles*.” Ibid. chap. 20. Such was the opinion of Lardner. The Translators however, although in points of this nature they seem principally to build their faith upon his critical deductions, choose to think differently. With respect indeed to the *first* and *third* chapters of St. Peter's disputed Epistle, they express themselves rather doubtfully ; but the *second* chapter they condemn without reserve, printing it in italics. And yet Lardner, as we have seen, maintained the divine authority of the whole, and Michaelis states what he terms “positive grounds for believing it genuine.” Introd. vol. iv. p. 350, &c.

† Introd. p. 2.

exists no where but in the imagination of the Translators ; who, although they generally indeed follow Griesbach, yet occasionally innovate even on his innovations. In the course of my reflections I have pointed out many passages of considerable length undisputed by him, the authenticity of which they represent as extremely dubious. Nor is this all. For, comple'tely in the teeth of an intimation formally given, that "the words, which in the judgment of Griesbach should probably, though not certainly, be expunged, are included in brackets,"\* they sometimes take the liberty themselves of expunging words of this description upon the superior decision of their own judgment.† Timid, cautious, circumspective, Griesbach weighed over and over again, with anxious solicitude, the credit of a textual variation, experience having taught him wisdom ; for he candidly confesses, that in his first edition he had admitted several readings into the text, which in his second, he felt himself under the necessity of removing to the margin : "Nonnullas lectiones, quæ olim in margine interiore fuissent repositæ, jam, plurium testium auctoritate confirmatas, in textum recepi ; sed contra etiam alias, quibus in textu olim locum suum assignassem, nunc, testibus nuper productis nil novi præsidii afferentibus, in marginem amandavi."‡ But they, less exact and more intrepid, in passages where he could only discover the appearance of a probable, determine the existence of a certain, omission ; and by an easy dash of the pen obliterate them altogether.

On one occasion indeed they hazard a bolder step ; and, where Griesbach adopts, without observation, the common reading, they, upon the sole authority of the Cambridge manuscript, venture upon a little interpolation, which directly converts an affirmative into a negative sentence.

\* Explanation of remarks, introd. p. 33.

† See Mark ii. 26, v, 15 ; Luke ix. 56.

‡ Prolegomena, p. 36.

It is recorded of St. John, who visited, with St. Peter, the sepulchre of our Lord, when Mary Magdalene had communicated to them her suspicions respecting the removal of the body, that, after he had inspected the sepulchre, "he saw and believed." Now this passage, in direct contradiction to every other manuscript, they render, "he saw and believed *not*," adding the following note from Newcome; "So the Cambridge MS. in the Greek, but not in the Latin, translation of it. The following verse assigns a reason for the unbelief of St. John and St. Peter." The precise value of this sort of half authority, contradicted by its other half, for the manuscript in question contains a Latin, as well as a Greek text, it is for them to calculate and explain; but as the consistency of the narrative is urged by way of proving the necessity of their interpolation, I cannot help remarking, that the common sense of the context, by which alone, I apprehend, the consistency of the narrative can be preserved, requires no such addition. The point applicable to the credence of the Apostle was, not the resurrection of our Saviour, for nothing upon that head had yet been surmised, but evidently the report of Mary Magdalene, that the body had been stolen away. When therefore St. John was informed of the circumstance, and, examining the sepulchre, perceived the linen clothes, which had wrapped the body, lying on the ground, and the napkin, which had been bound about the head, folded together in a place by itself, can we possibly conjecture that he believed *not*?

Upon the whole then, it is, I presume, incontrovertible, that they have not uniformly adhered to the text of Griesbach. I do not indeed dispute their right to deviate from the judgment of that, or any other critic; but I complain of their holding out false colours to the public. If they flattered themselves that they possessed talents capable of improving "the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published," they were doubtless at liberty to



have made the experiment ; but they should have undertaken the task openly and undisguisedly. Were they apprehensive, that in such a case their competency might have been questioned, and their presumption censured ?

Nor can I take a final leave of the subject, without again alluding to another deception practised upon the general reader. From the style of the title-page, the prolegomenal parade of the introduction, and the perpetual attempt at manuscript erudition in the notes, he is naturally induced to consider the Version as one conducted upon principles rigidly critical, while, in truth, it is nothing more than a mere patchwork translation, solely manufactured to promote the cause of unitarianism. When a passage occurs, which in its obvious sense threatens fatality to the Unitarian Creed, its sting is instantly and ingeniously extracted ; what exposition the language of Scripture *can*, not what it *ought* to bear, becomes the object of investigation ; and the context is twisted into subserviency to the gloss, and not the gloss made consistent with the context. The Translators indeed unreservedly confess, that they have studied “to preclude many sources of error, by divesting the sacred volume of the technical phrases of a systematic theology ;” but they forget to add, that it was only in order to supersede one system by another. If a clause admits the slightest pliability of meaning, every nerve is strained to give it a peculiar direction. Instead of enquiring, with Christian simplicity, what really *are*, they presume with philosophical arrogance upon what *must be*, the doctrines of Scripture ; and substitute the deductions of reason for the dictates of revelation. Averse from established opinion, fond of novelty, and vain of singularity they pride themselves upon a sort of mental insulation, and become captivated at every magic touch with the effluent brilliance of their own intellect. The profound researches of the most distinguished commentators and philologists they either slight or despise, unless convertible by




a little dexterity of application to the aggrandisement of some favourite theory ; and satiate us with the flimsy refinements and loose lucubrations of Lindsey, or of Priestly. Immoderately attached to particular doctrines, and deeply prejudiced against all others, they modify every expression in the text, and every exposition in the notes, to a sense sometimes directly favourable, but never even indirectly unfavourable, to Unitarianism ; so that in reality, always indifferent, though apparently sometimes anxious, respecting the true philological import of scriptural language, and ever restless with the gad-fly of theological conceit, they prove themselves to be wholly incapacitated, from a defect, if not of talent, certainly of temper, for the patient task of critical rumination.









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